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New York State Historical Association

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL
MEETING WITH CONSTITUTION AND
BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS . . .



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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

New York State Historical
Association

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING, WITH
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
AND LIST OF MEMBERS.....



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1905

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УДАЛЕНА ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL
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ROBERT O. BASCOM, FORT EDWARD.

Assistant Secretary,

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Hon. JAMES A. ROBERTS, Buffalo	-	-	-	-	Term Expires	1907
Col. JOHN L. CUNNINGHAM, Glens Falls	-	-	-	-	"	1907
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Rev. Dr. C. ELLIS STEVENS, New York	-	-	-	-	"	1907
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Mr. FRANCIS W. HALSEY, New York	-	-	-	-	"	1905
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Hon. GEORGE G. BENEDICT, Burlington, Vt.	-	-	-	-	"	1906

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

**Sixth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical
Association held August 16th, 1904, at the
Court House, Lake George, N. Y.**

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held August 16th, 1904, at the Court House at Lake George, N. Y.

The meeting was called to order by Honorable Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Second Vice-President. A quorum of the Association being present it was,

Regularly, moved, and seconded that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

Dr. Sherman Williams of the Committee upon marking spots of historic interest made a verbal report, which was received and the committee discharged, as was also the regular standing committee upon this subject; thereupon it was,

Regularly, moved, seconded and carried that a new committee upon such subjects be appointed to consist of five members, and the following committee upon this subject was thereupon appointed:

Dr. Sherman Williams, Frederick B. Richards, James A. Holden, Asahel R. Wing, Grenville M. Ingalsbe.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The report of the treasurer was presented by Mr. James A. Holden, and read, and was thereupon adopted.

The report was as follows, viz:—

J. A. HOLDEN, *Treasurer*.

In account with New York State Historical Association.

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand July 1, 1903	\$ 12 65
Dues received since July 1, 1903	286 00
Donation, Sherman Williams	25 00
	<hr/>
	\$323 65

DISBURSEMENTS.

James B. Perkins	18 50	
Keating & Barnard	25 00	
R. O. Bascom	19 88	
Keating & Barnard	39 66	
J. A. Holden (stamps, etc.)	5 78	
G. F. Publishing Co.	1 75	
G. F. Publishing Co.	2 75	
R. O. Bascom	16 00	
Keating & Barnard	2 80	\$132 12
Cash on hand		<hr/>
		191 53
		<hr/>
		\$323 65

ASSETS.

Cash on hand	\$191 53	
Back dues	114 00	\$305 53

LIABILITIES.

Argus Co. (Annual Proceedings)	\$151 58	
J. A. Holden (stamps, etc.)	2 10	\$153 68
		<hr/>
Assets over liabilities		\$151 68
List of members paid to Jan. 1, 190597
Interest to July 1st	19 12	\$194 12
List of members paid to Jan. 1, 190597
List of members paid to Jan. 1, 190432
List of members paid to Jan. 1, 190317
List of members paid to Jan. 1, 1902		8

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Association met at the Court House at Lake George, and the following papers were read, the subject of the symposium being:—

"The Battle of Bennington-Walloomsac."

"The Memorable Battle Fought on the 16th of August, 1777 at Walloomsac."—Dr. William Olin Stillman, Albany.

"The Independent Command of General John Stark."—Herbert D. Foster, A. M., Professor of History, Dartmouth College in collaboration with Thomas W. Streeter, B. L., Dartmouth.

"The Part of New York in the Battle of Walloomsac."—Nelson Gillespie, President Hoosac Valley Historical Society, Hoosac Falls, N. Y.

"General John Stark."—Robert R. Law, of Cambridge, N. Y.

"Vermont in the Battle of Bennington."—Honorable George G. Benedict, President Vermont Historical Society, Burlington, Vt., after which the meeting adjourned.

August 17th, the Association met at 11 o'clock in the forenoon at the New Fort William Henry Hotel, Honorable Grenville M. Ingalsbe, First Vice-President, in the absence of the President, presiding. At the request of the First Vice-President, Dr. Joseph E. King, of Fort Edward, delivered a brief address upon the object and work of the Association, after which the Historical address entitled "Lincoln and Douglas" by William Harrison Mace, Ph. D., Professor of History, Syracuse University, was delivered, whereupon the meeting adjourned until 2 o'clock in the afternoon at which time the Association reassembled and Mrs. Elizabeth Watrous of Hague-on-Lake George, read a paper upon "Fort Ticonderoga Restored." The First Vice-President requested Dr. Joseph E. King, to take the chair, whereupon Honorable Grenville M. Ingalsbe, of Sandy Hill, in accordance with the direction of the Board of Trustees presented a memorial address upon the life of the late Dr. Daniel C. Farr, after which the First Vice-President resumed the chair.

Mr. Ingalsbe then announced that the remainder of the literary program for the exercises of this day were to be contributed by the Washington County Chapters of the D. A. R. and he requested Miss Jennie M. Qua of Cambridge, N. Y., Regent of the Ondawa Chapter D. A. R., to preside, after which the following papers were read:

"The American Revolution from an English Point of View"—Mrs. F. C. Scoville, Greenwich, N. Y., Willard Mountain Chapter D. A. R.

"The Washington Family"—Mrs. E. R. Sawyer, Sandy Hill, N. Y., Jane McCrea Chapter D. A. R.

"Women of the Revolution"—Mrs. J. L. McArthur, Granville, Isareal Harris Chapter D. A. R.

"Art and Artists of the Revolutionary Period"—Martha McFarland, Cambridge, Ondawa Chapter D. A. R.

"The Work of the Empire State Society D. A. R."—Mrs. Charles H. Terry, Brooklyn, State Regent D. A. R.

Miss Qua, upon the conclusion of this program, invited the members, friends and guests of the New York State Historical Association, to attend a reception given by the Washington County Chapters of the D. A. R. to Mrs. Charles H. Terry, State Regent, immediately following the conclusion of the session, after which Mr. Ingalsbe resumed the chair. By direction of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Bascom offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That Harry W. Watrous, John Boulton Simpson, George O. Knapp be and they hereby are appointed a committee upon the purchase and reservation of the Fort Grounds at Ticonderoga as a national park by the Congress of the United States with authority to appoint such associates and to take such measures thereabouts as to them may seem advisable, and appropriate, which resolution was unanimously adopted.

By direction of the Board of Trustees Mr. Bascom offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of the New York State Historical Association be and they hereby are extended to all the speakers who have addressed the Association at this meeting.

Resolved, That in grateful recognition of the patriotic and unselfish services of the D. A. R., who have done so much to stimulate an interest in the study of American history, we beg leave to extend our thanks to all of the various chapters, and to the officers and members thereof who have so kindly contributed to the success of this meeting.

Resolved, That these resolutions be entered upon our records and published in our Proceedings, "which resolutions were unanimously adopted." Mr. Ingalsbe then said, "the Sixth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association, the largest, most successful, and the most entertaining ever held I now declare to be adjourned."

ROBERT O. BASCOM,

Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association held at the Court House at Lake George, N. Y., on the 16th day of August, 1904.

A quorum of the Trustees being present, the meeting was called to order by the Honorable Grenville M. Ingalsbe, who thereupon named General Henry E. Tremain, of New York, as temporary chairman of the meeting. General Tremain was duly elected as temporary chairman and took the chair; thereupon the Board of Trustees proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year.

The following officers were duly elected by ballot viz:—Hon. James A. Roberts, Buffalo, N. Y., President; Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill, First Vice-President; Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls, Second Vice-President; Mr. John Boulton Simpson, Bolton, Third Vice-President; Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls, Treasurer; Mr. Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward, Secretary; Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Ticonderoga, Assistant Secretary.

It was duly moved, seconded and carried, that a committee of two be appointed to examine and audit the Treasurer's report. Dr. Joseph E. King, of Fort Edward, and Frederick B. Richards, of Ticonderoga, were duly appointed as such committee and after examination of the Treasurer's accounts and books they duly reported to the Board that the same were found correct.

Whereupon the report was adopted.

The following Trustees were elected for the term of three years by ballot, viz:

Hon. James A. Roberts, Buffalo, N. Y.; Col. John L. Cunningham, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Mr. John Boulton Simpson, Bolton, N. Y.; Dr. C. E. Stevens, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Everett R. Sawyer, Sandy Hill, N. Y.; Mr. Elwyn Seelye, Lake George, N. Y.; Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Ticonderoga, N. Y.; Mr. Howland Pell, New York.

The following named persons were duly proposed as members and were unanimously elected, viz:

William Wait, Kinderhook, N. Y.; Dr. O. H. Mott, Fort Edward, N. Y.; William J. Ballard, Jamaica, N. Y.; Edgar M. Ames, Fort Edward, N. Y.; Truman Temple, Granville, N. Y.; Frederick W. Hewitt, Granville, N. Y.; Mrs. Nathalie G. Parry, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Mrs. James A. Holden, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Franc Groesbeck Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill, N. Y.; Frederick I. Baker, Fort Ann, N. Y.; A. S. Cox, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Robert R. Law, Cambridge, N. Y.

It was regularly moved, seconded and carried, that a vote of thanks be extended to William McEacheron, Henry Crandall, Jonathan M. Coolidge, of Glens Falls, for their generous subscriptions made to the committee upon marking historic spots for the purpose of defraying the expense of erecting suitable markers under the direction of the Association.

The following committee upon program and arrangements for the next annual meeting was duly elected, viz:

Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Dr. Sherman Williams, Mr. Frederick B. Richards.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, the bill of the Argus Company of Albany, for printing the Proceedings amounting to \$151.58; the bill of Philip Allen for printing amounting to \$9.50; bill of Robert O. Bascom, sundry disbursements as Secretary amounting to \$18.50, were audited and ordered paid.

Dr. Sherman Williams and the Secretary were appointed a committee with power to obtain a suitable place for the preservation of the Library of the Association, after which General Tremain called the First Vice-President to the chair.

The following committee was thereupon duly appointed a Committee upon Legislation, viz:

Hon. James A. Roberts, Gen. Henry E. Tremain, Dr. Sherman Williams, Morris Patterson Ferris, Hon. Hugh Hastings.

Whereupon the Board of Trustees adjourned.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,
Secretary.

**At a Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the New York State
Historical Association held at the Hotel Ten Eyck, in the
City of Albany, on the 14th day of January, 1905.**

Present : Hon. James A. Roberts, Dr. Sherman Williams, Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Rev. John H. Brandow, Elmer J. West, Dr. Joseph E. King, Morris Patterson Ferris, Robert O. Bascom.

The meeting was called to order by the President.

It was regularly moved, seconded and carried, that the Treasurer and Secretary be a Committee to whom shall be referred the subject of members delinquent in payment of their dues and that such committee have discretion to rebate the dues of such members as may seem expedient and that they have further authority to drop members who are more than one year in arrears.

It was moved, seconded and carried, that Judge Ingalsbe and the Secretary be a committee to propose an amendment to the Constitution, so that those persons who have made donations toward the erection of markers at historic spots, may be made either honorary or active members.

It was moved, seconded and carried, that Franklin B. Austin, Frank S. Hull, E. C. Brown, Nathan Platt Bushnell and Warren Sutherland Jordan be elected members of the Association.

It was moved, seconded and carried, that the Secretary be instructed to prepare the proceedings of the last annual meeting for printing and procure the same to be published.

It was moved, seconded and carried, that Judge Ingalsbe, William Wait and the Secretary be a committee with authority to negotiate with Mr. Rutterber with a view to publish his manuscript work upon Indian Proper Names.

It was moved, seconded and carried, that the matter of the purchase of an addition to the State Park at Lake George be referred to the Committee on Legislation.

The Treasurer's report was read and adopted and is as follows:

SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT

OF

J. A. Holden, Treasurer New York State Historical Association from
July 1, 1904, to January 10, 1905.

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand July 1st	\$191 53	
Dues received	53 00	
Interest from Life Membership Fund	6 50	\$251 03

DISBURSEMENTS.

Expense of lecture	\$ 50 00	
Keating Printery	9 50	
Argus Company	151 58	
W. W. Brown (hotel bill)	2 10	
R. O. Bascom, sundries	18 50	
Postage, annual statements	3 20	\$250 88

15

BALANCE ON HAND—ASSETS.

Cash on hand	\$ 15	
Annual dues	306 00	
Doubtful accounts	170 00	\$476 15

It was moved, seconded and carried, that Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Sterns of Saratoga Springs be elected members.

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,

Secretary.

THE MEMORABLE BATTLE

FOUGHT ON THE

16th Day of August, 1777, at Walloomsac: General John Stark

BY DR. WILLIAM O. STILLMAN.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—To-day is the anniversary of an heroic battle of the American Revolution, which marked the turning point in that memorable contest which has stood for so much in the annals of the world. For the first time the untried and untrained settlers, fighting for home and liberty, prevailed decisively against the veteran legions of Europe. Hitherto this had been deemed an impossibility. It is the conquering of such impossibilities which always brings glory.

As the result of the bloody conflict on the banks of the Walloomsac on that "memorable day," the Americans captured according to the statement of General Stark, their commander, in his report to General Gates, dated August 22, 1777, seven hundred prisoners (including the wounded) and counted two hundred and seven of enemy dead on the field of battle. Stark stated his own losses to have been "about forty wounded and thirty killed."

When we consider that Burgoyne gave one thousand and fifty as the total British force engaged in this battle under Cols. Baum and Brayman, and that the Americans captured or killed over nine hundred men, and seized several hundred muskets and all the British cannon, the overwhelming character of the victory is apparent. Its importance was, however, greater in its moral than in its immediate physical effects.

Lord George Germain, the British Minister in charge of the war in the States, characterized Burgoyne's raid toward Bennington as "fatal" to the English and pronounced it as "the cause of all the subsequent misfortunes." General Burgoyne, in his review of the evidence produced at the inquiry before the House of Commons (see *A State of the Expedition from Canada*, as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, published London, 1780, page 108) indignantly denies the force of this charge, saying that it was "a common accident of war, independent of any general action, unattended by any loss that could affect the main strength of the army, and little more than a miscarriage of a foraging party." He scouts the idea that it could "have been fatal to a whole campaign." General Burgoyne seems to have forgotten that he had written to Lord George Germain, long before, a letter marked "private," from his camp at Saratoga, under date of August 20, 1777, in which he said, "In regard to the affair of Saintcoick, (Walloomsac) * * * Had I succeeded, I should have effected a junction with St. Leger, and been now before Albany. * * * Had my instructions been followed * * * success would probably have ensued, misfortune would certainly have been avoided. I did not think it prudent, in the present crisis, to mark these circumstances to the public so strongly as I do in confidence to your Lordship." There is more to the same effect.

If this stroke of fortune brought consternation to the English it brought hope and happiness to the Colonists. "One more such stroke," said Washington when informed of the defeat of the royalists, "and we shall have no great cause for anxiety as to the future designs of Britain." In writing Putnam he expressed the hope that New England would rise and crush Burgoyne's entire army. It is a curious instance of Washington's almost prophetic instinct that he had been longing for just this sort of a misfortune to seize the enemy, for on July 22, 1777, he had written to General Schuyler: "Could we be so happy as to cut off one of his (Burgoyne's) detachments, supposing it should not exceed four, five or six hundred men, it would inspirit the people and do away much of their present anxiety. In such an event they would lose

sight of past misfortunes, fly to arms and afford every aid in their power."

The battle on the Walloomsac aroused a patriotic furore throughout the states. Jefferson called it "the first link in the chain of successes which issued in the surrender at Saratoga."

Within three days General Schuyler wrote Stark: "The signal victory you have gained, and the severe loss the enemy have received, cannot fail of producing the most salutary results." Within a week the bells were ringing in Boston and Philadelphia, and the whole people devoutly gave thanks for this interposition of Divine protection. St. Leger, the British general beleaguering Fort Stanwix on the far off Mohawk, also heard of it, and in spite of his bloody victory at Oriskany Creek, slunk off to the St. Lawrence. His dream of conquest and of the occupancy of Albany was ended. The gifted Baroness Riedesel, in Burgoyne's camp wrote: "This unfortunate event paralyzed at once our operations."

The effect of this great victory, on the Continental soldiers was marvelous. The brave and daring Vermont troops under Cols. Warner and Herrick were emboldened to attack the royalists at Lake George Landing with the result that the vessels were captured which might have afforded Burgoyne's army escape to Canada. Recruits began to flock to the Federal army on the upper Hudson. The New England troops soon joined them. The British depots of supplies of provisions were sought out and raided. Gradually the condition of the king's army grew more and more desperate. A thousand men lost at Walloomsac reduced their forces from 7,000 to 6,000, and the 4,000 Continental soldiers facing them was rapidly increased under the benign influences of success to nearly 17,000 men (16,942 as given in General Gates' statement of October 16, 1777).

It will thus be seen that the battle on the Walloomsac was undoubtedly the turning point of British success in America. It gave the prestige and caused the delay of a month in Burgoyne's movements, which were necessary to make Gates' army strong enough to resist him. It made possible the great victory at Saratoga which determined the destinies of a continent and is ranked

along with Marathon and Hastings as one of the fifteen great battles of the world.

I have dwelt intentionally, and I trust in all fairness, on the great importance of this conflict which is the subject of my remarks. It was a pivotal event. New York State was the storm center of the revolutionary war at this time. If its power of resistance could be broken the British success in the Colonies seemed assured. To this end four armies were centered on Albany as the proper spot from which to dictate peace. Lord Howe was to ascend the Hudson from the south and meet Burgoyne's army from the north. St. Leger was to meet them with a third army coming down the Mohawk from the west, while Baum, who had been detached from the army of the north, was given instructions to go to Connecticut, by way of Manchester, Arlington and Bennington, and approach Albany from the east. The four armies were to crush the rebellion, reward the tories and overawe the American patriots. With the destruction of Baum's forces, the retreat of St. Leger's, and the capitulation of Burgoyne's army, this dream of the success of the crown came to an abrupt and painful ending. Lord Howe no longer dared aim at Albany. The British army in New York, on June 3, 1777, contained but 334 men or, including Staten Island, 4,167. The events I have narrated proved to be the beginning of the end.

This is an oft told tale and I trust that I have not wearied my hearers with its recital. The point lies in the application. It is this. In spite of the very important character of this battle, as we have seen, there is no monument or memorial to mark its actual site. The patriotic people of Vermont have erected at Bennington a great shaft, over 300 feet in height, to commemorate the event, but the monument is many miles from the battle-field which was actually in New York State some distance from the Vermont line.

I do not for a moment believe that the people of New York are one whit less patriotic than those of other states. Splendid memorials erected to commemorate important military successes are found within her borders. It is simply a case where public

action has not been taken because the situation has not been clearly brought before the public. The facts of the case have also been somewhat obscured by the early action of Vermont in erecting at a distance from the scene of the fight a costly monument, aided by gifts from surrounding states and the national government. Vermont bore a noble and conspicuous part in this contest and her action in generously memorializing the past should serve as an incentive to this state to mark in a suitable manner the actual site of the battle-field in New York State.

Steps to this end have already been taken by the Hoosick Valley Historical Society by forming a Walloomsac Battle Monument Association. The spirit of historic inquiry and patriotic commemoration is abroad in the land. Public sentiment is growing pronounced and emphatic in regard to preserving and marking scenes of historic interest. Historical Societies and numerous other organizations designed to keep alive feelings of veneration for a past to which we owe so much have been formed. These are largely focusing their special attention on the colonial and revolutionary period. Important books covering this stage of our national development are being printed and they are largely purchased and read with avidity. I believe, Mr. President, that the times are propitious for such an undertaking, and that the public is deeply in sympathy with the purpose and efforts of our New York State Historical Association, which acknowledges works of this kind as its special field of labor. We ask your aid in carrying out this scheme for a proper memorial at Walloomsac. We desire a monument suitable to the importance of the event commemorated and in accord with the dignity and patriotism of our state, and for this purpose shall appeal to the State Legislature and National Congress, as well as to private individuals, for contributions to carry out this laudable and proper project. Land should be reserved around the monument and its care should be permanently committed either to the State or to the Battle Monument Association.

Considerable interest is likely to develop, on the part of those not familiar with the locality of the battle, as to the exact authenticity of its location. I am glad to be able to say to these

that there is no difference of opinion as to the spot where the fiercest part of the battle centered. It is but a 127 years since the fight occurred and local celebrations of the event have been of frequent occurrence. They began on the very first anniversary, and local tradition has handed down the location of the various skirmishes with reliable accuracy. The name Hessian Hill still applies to the site of the redoubt where Baum and his command of Reidesel's dragoons made stoutest their stand.

General Burgoyne published in 1780, in the book to which I have already made reference, a map of the battlefield drawn by Lieut. Durnford, engineer. It is most accurate and painstaking, except that the name "Hosack" is applied to the Walloomsac river. The location of the different bodies of troops, German dragoons and grenadiers, British rangers and chasseurs, Canadians, Tories and Continentals, are all shown with careful detail, as well as the earth works.

Even more important than this is a tracing of a map drawn by Mr. Hiland Hall, of Bennington, in 1826, covering the whole field of action from the preliminary skirmish to the final retreat of the few survivors, whom darkness alone saved from capture. This map was most carefully prepared, as many of the American survivors of the fight were still living. It is preserved among the J. Spark's manuscripts, in the Harvard Library, and is known as No. 28. I am not aware that it has ever been published. On the map Mr. Sparks has written, "Very accurate. Ground examined by myself at the time. J. Sparks." The gentleman who drew the map was an antiquarian of no mean repute. Carrington in his authoritative work "Battles of the American Revolution," reproduces the map drawn by Lieut. Durnford. It is, however, less satisfactory on the whole than Hall's. Hessian Hill presents a most admirable site for a monument, overlooking from its commanding eminence the immediate scene of most of the sharpest fighting. The State of New York and its citizens owe it as a solemn duty to mark for future generations the site of this initial success, which determined with impressive earnestness the end of the revolutionary struggle.

The gentlemen who are interested in this movement are united in believing that this battle should be known in New York State by its local designation. There would be a manifest impropriety in asking for appropriations and gifts for a monument to commemorate the battle of Bennington in New York State. There would be none, however, in asking for assistance to mark the site of an important battle on our own territory. We have no desire to quarrel with our good friends in Vermont, who have done a fine thing in commemorating the battle which saved their own state from spoilation. Indeed, we hope to have gifts from them to mark the battle-field. We have no part in the somewhat acrimonious debate which has waged, at times, for many years, over applying the name Bennington to this memorable conflict. The naming of battles goes largely, like the naming of babies, by favor and accident. At the Bennington anniversary on the year following the contest, the occurrence was referred to by the secretary of the celebration as the "battle at Bennington," and it soon passed into history as such. Bennington was the nearest large settlement and the plans for defense centered there. There were no large towns near at hand in New York. Had a celebration been held near the scene of the strife in this state soon after the event, I doubt not it would have been christened the "Battle of Walloomsac," just as Oriskany was named after the adjacent stream and Saratoga after the village close to which that fight occurred. It is a curious thing that neither Stark nor Burgoyne were accustomed to refer to the battle as that of Bennington. Stark several times characterized it, as I have indicated in the title selected for this address, as the "battle at Walloomsac," and Burgoyne more than once has referred to it as the "affair at Saint Coicks Mill," or plain "Saint Coicks," which was the spot where the first skirmish began and last fight ended.

While New Hampshire furnished the commanding general, the sagacious and brave Stark, and more than half the troops, Massachusetts and Vermont divided the remaining part not so very unequally between them. New York furnished the battle field and a very considerable sprinkling of men besides. It should be borne in mind that every available man from that

part of New York State was with the main American army before Burgoyne. Poor New York at this period was distracted. She was being ground between the upper and nether millstones at Saratoga and New York. King George III, on July 20, 1764, by royal decree had declared that what is now Vermont was part of the province of New York. Before that it had been by common consent considered a part of New Hampshire. From 1765 to 1777 there had been a most bitter legal war, oftentimes threatening serious bloodshed, between the people of this section and the authorities in New York, who regarded the revolt against the King's grant as unwarranted. It was a sadly mixed quarrel with varying right and wrong on our part.

On January 15, 1777, Vermont declared her independence and soon after adopted her present name, having first chosen New Connecticut, which was soon abandoned. She was therefore in a state of open rebellion against New York, and had declared herself a fourteenth State, which was not, however, as yet recognized by the other thirteen of the United States.

In spite of this New York treated her with marked consideration, Col. Warner and his regiment of Vermonters, which were a regular part of the Continental army, were ordered by General Schuyler of New York, to protect his home territory, in an order previous to July 14, 1777. On July 15, General Schuyler sent to Col. Warner an order for clothing for his troops in Vermont, of which they were very much in need, and also \$4,000 for their pay, which was all he could spare from his depleted treasury. On July 16, General Schuyler in writing Ira Allen, Secretary of the Vermont Council of Safety, stated that he had ordered Col. Simmonds, (who had some 400 or 500 men under him) from Massachusetts to his assistance. On the same date General Schuyler wrote to Col. Warner, "I am this moment informed by Capt. Fitch that the New Hampshire militia are marching to join me. It is (not) my intention, much as I am in want of troops, that they should come hither, as it would expose the country in that quarter to the depredations of the enemy. I therefore enclose you an order for them to join you." Thus the gallant Stark, whose name was even then a thing to conjure with,

through the generosity of New York's wise General, the noble Philip Schuyler, came to the rescue of Vermont and saved the day at Walloomsac. Local differences were forgotten in the desire for the common good. Stark and Warner soon after the battle joined the main continental army on the Hudson. The services of Col. John Williams and his party, from New York State, who offered their services to Vermont at the time of the fight should not be forgotten.

I have ventured to devote some little attention to the relation of New York to this famous battle, with an explanation of conditions which should make clearer the important part she played and the powerful forces which controlled and limited her action. Her position has been at times misunderstood if not misrepresented.

These were truly times which tried men's souls. The territory involved in the war was honeycombed with treachery and defection. A straw was liable to turn the tide either way at this pivotal moment. If Baum had retired on his reserves at the proper time it is doubtful whether Stark's forces could have overcome the enemy before Burgoyne had given reinforcements in force as promised.

If Baum's expedition had been delayed two or three days, Stark would in all probability have joined Schuyler and success would have crowned the British efforts. If Baum had pushed rapidly forward two days sooner he would have found the patriots unprepared, have secured his provisions, and have completed his raid to Connecticut and Albany with success. St. Leger would not have been frightened off on the Mohawk, and Burgoyne would have forced his victorious march to Albany as anticipated. The destinies of a Continent were in the balance, and fortune and chance were playing a desperate game. Conditions were so bad that when the Vermont Council made its appeal to New Hampshire for assistance there was a perceptible chance of the entire state going over to the royalists. The Vermont Council used these significant words: "Our good disposition to defend ourselves and make a frontier for your State with our own cannot be carried into execution without your assistance. Should you

send immediate assistance we can help you, and should you neglect till we are put to the necessity of taking protection '(from the King's government)' you readily know it is in a moment out of our power to assist you." The die would have been cast. Vermont would have been obliged to have sworn allegiance to the English king or have been given over as the spoils of war to plunder. Sections had already accepted such protection.

Such was the condition of things when the battle on the Walloomsac was fought. Truly great events turn on small hinges. Shall we, the inheritors of the benefactions of these auspicious happenings, refuse to erect a monument in gratitude and patriotism to mark the spot where despotism in this favored land received a fatal blow and liberty became for our valiant sires something more than a hopeless dream.

STARK'S INDEPENDENT COMMAND AT BENNINGTON.

HERBERT D. FOSTER, WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
THOMAS W. STREETER.

ON the 18th of July, twelve days after the Americans abandoned Fort Ticonderoga, there was laid before the General Court of New Hampshire a vigorous appeal to aid "the defenceless inhabitants on the frontier" of Vermont, who "are heartily disposed to Defend their Liberties . . . and make a frontier for your State with their own." "You will naturally understand that when we cease to be a frontier your state must take it," was the shrewd hint with which Ira Allen closed his letter.¹ Seldom has there been made a speech with clearer vision and more immediate and lasting effect than was made on that day by Speaker John Langdon. In four ringing sentences, he put "at the service of the State" his worldly goods of those days—"hard money," "plate," and "Tobago Rum." Then he added this prophecy:

"We can raise a brigade; and our friend Stark, who so nobly sustained the honor of our arms at Bunker's Hill, may safely be entrusted with the command, and we will check Burgoyne."²

With this pledge and prophecy, New Hampshire began her share in the campaign which made Bennington and Saratoga possible. On that same day the first part of the prophecy was fulfilled by the election of John Stark as Brigadier General. Before a month had passed, "our friend Stark" had fulfilled the re-

¹N. H. State Papers, Vol. VIII, pp. 631-633; Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 181, 185. ²Caleb Stark, Memoir and Official Correspondence of General John Stark, 123.

³Mem. and Corr. Stark, 46; also in Everett's Stark, (in Stark's Biog.) 78.

mainder; he had raised a brigade, and he had "checked Burgoyne" at Bennington.

How the battle of Bennington was won is an interesting tale; but it has been told often and well, by the victors, by the vanquished, by the critics of both, and finally by the critics of one another.³ The object of this paper, therefore, is not to describe the battle, but rather to show how there came to be an American force at Bennington capable of fighting any battle.

A score of the participants in the battle, and more than a score of the participants in what we may venture to call the campaign of Bennington have left us fragments of the story. These fragments, printed and unprinted, have been collected by the writers of this article and put together into a daily record from the pen of the participants—American, British, and German.⁴ These contestants reveal, in their sequence, the actions and motives of both parties in the struggle. Their combined daily record sheds somewhat more of the white light of truth, or at least the gray light of history, on the causes and results of Stark's Independent Command which proved such a vital factor in the campaign. From the participants we may hope to glean a clearer and therefore juster idea of why the independent command was granted by New Hampshire; second, how it enabled Stark to carry out the sound strategy once planned by Schuyler, always approved by Washington, and fortunately insisted upon by Stark and the Vermont Council; and third, how it was regarded by Stark's fellow soldiers and citizens, by the continental officers, and by Congress.

On the 18th of July, after John Langdon's speech, New Hampshire, under extraordinary circumstances took unusual action which gave rise to much discussion and criticism. The General Court appointed "the Hon^{ble} William Whipple Esq." and "the Hon^{bl} John Stark Esq." Brigadier Generals, and voted "that

³See Bibliography in Appendix B, for contemporary and modern accounts.

⁴Selections from this daily record are given in the Calendar of Documents, Appendix A, where the unpublished documents are indicated by an asterisk (*) and are printed *in extenso*. This material has also been used to construct the table showing the position and movements of Stark, Schuyler, Lincoln, Burgoyne, Baum and Breyman, given in Appendix C. The list of participants is in Appendix B, Bibliography, under Sources.

the said Brigadier Generals be always amenable for their conduct to the General Court or Committee of Safety for the time being."⁵ It is the omission that is significant: Stark was not made "amenable" to Congress, to the officers of the Continental Army, or to continental regulations.

The reasons which led New Hampshire to give Stark this independent command are set forth clearly in an unpublished letter of Josiah Bartlett written a month after the battle was fought. Bartlett was a member of the General Court which appointed Stark, and of the New Hampshire Committee of Safety which gave him his instructions; and after the Battle of Bennington, he was sent to advise Stark. Bartlett was also a Colonel in the New Hampshire militia, had twice represented his state in Congress, and later was to serve her as a Chief Justice and as Governor. Because of his intimate knowledge of state affairs, his wide experience, and his sound judgment, the following opinions are entitled to unusual confidence.

"I am much Surprized to hear the uneasiness Expressed by the Congress at the orders given him, [Stark] by this state; I think it must be owing to their not Knowing our Situation at that time, The Enemy appeared to be moving down to our frontiers and no men to oppose them but the militia and Col. Warners Regiment not Exceeding 150 men, and it was impossible to raise the militia to be under the Command of Gen^l in whom they had no Confidence, and who might immediately call them to the Southward and leave their wives and families a prey to the enemy: and had Gen^l Starks gone to Stillwater agreeable to orders; there would have been none to oppose Col Baum in carrying Gen.^l Burgoine's orders into Execution: No State wishes more Earnestly to keep up the union than New Hampshire, but Surely Every State has a right to raise their militia for their own Defence against the Common Enemy and to put them under such Command as they shall think proper without giving just cause of uneasiness to the Congress. As to the State giving such orders to Gen^l Starks, because he had not the rank he thought himself entitled to, (which seems to be intimated) I can

⁵N. H. State Papers, VIII, 635.

assure you is without foundation and I believe never entered the mind of any of the Committee of Safety who gave the orders: however I hope by this time the Congress are convinced of the upright intentions of the State and the propriety of their conduct. . . ."⁶

No more convincing statement of the reasons for granting the independent command could be given to-day. The only query is: do the facts substantiate Bartlett's statements as to the causes and results of the independent command?

The statement as to the lack of confidence in the generals of the Northern Department is only too amply substantiated. "The people are disgusted, disappointed and alarmed," wrote the New York Council of Safety on the 27th of July, to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety. To General Putnam even more explicitly they wrote: "The evacuation of Ticonderoga appears to the Council highly reprehensible . . . absurd and probably criminal."⁷ "I . . . agree with you," replied the Chairman of the New Hampshire Committee, "that the loss of Ticonderoga, in the manner it was left, has occasioned the loss of all confidence, among the people in these parts, in the general officers of that department."⁸ The investigations by Congress, the letters of Washington, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Van Cortlandt, and of less known soldiers and civilians show that the distrust was deep and widespread.⁹ Schuyler himself, the commander of the Northern Department finding himself at Fort Edward "at

⁶Josiah Bartlett to Wm. Whipple, Kingston, N. H., Sept. 22, 1777. Extract from manuscript copy in Josiah Bartlett's Correspondence, Vol. I, in Dartmouth College Library. For full text see Appendix A, No. 76.

⁷N. H. State Papers, VIII, 647. Lossing, Schuyler, II, 217.

⁸Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. I, p. 194; Meshech Weare to N. Y. Council Safety, Aug. 5.

⁹Votes of Congress, July 29-Aug. 4: "enquiry . . . into the conduct of . . . officers in the Northern Department; summons to St. Clair, to Schuyler and three others; request that Washington appoint officer to relieve Schuyler—declined by Washington; election of Gates to supersede Schuyler, Aug. 4. Journals of Congress, III, 298-310. Sparks, Writings of Washington, V, 17, 28. Ford, do. V, 483, 485, 491, 522; VI, 4 (note), 33. John Adams, Works, III, 47. Lossing, Schuyler, II, 217, 219. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 622, 641 (and cf. Stark's endorsement p. 651). J. Trumbull, Jr., expresses the discontent at Schuyler's retreat down the Hudson; Mass. H. Soc. Coll., 7th Ser., II, 72 ff. Thacher, Journal. 98-103. See also below, Appendix A, Nos. 9, 27, 33, 45, 68.

the head of a handful of men—not above fifteen hundred,” and “the country in the deepest consternation,” wrote to Washington: “what could induce the general officers to a step which has ruined our affairs in this quarter, God only knows.”¹⁰ The loss of confidence was the more dangerous because known and reckoned on by the enemy. Philip Skene, Burgoyne’s Tory adviser, wrote to Lord Dartmouth on the 15th of July: “The men want confidence in their officers and their Off^{rs} in their men.” “The King,” says Walpole, “on receiving the account of taking Ticonderoga, ran into the Queen’s room crying, ‘I have beat them! beat all the Americans!’”¹¹

There may have been much prejudice and misunderstanding involved in the distrust of the general officers, and in the case of Schuyler there undoubtedly was, for he has been amply vindicated as a brave and capable officer accomplishing a thankless task under peculiarly difficult circumstances. The distrust was however so widespread and ineradicable, and the danger so pressing, that decisive measures had to be adopted.

With Stark’s acceptance of an independent command, the situation changed at once. The enthusiasm was so great that the rapidity of recruiting and enlisting seems almost incredible. On the very day of Stark’s appointment, Captain McConnell of Pembroke, a delegate to the Assembly, “engaged” for the service. The next day, the 19th of August, he, and Captain Bradford of Amherst and Captain Parker of New Ipswich, some sixty miles from Exeter, had recruited three companies of 221 men.¹² The news swept up the Merrimack valley on Sunday the 20th of July, through Hudson and Hollis, Londonderry and Epsom, Loudon and Boscawen, to Salisbury, fifty-eight miles distant from Ex-

¹⁰Lossing, Schuyler, II, 216. Cf. Appendix A, No. 27. Sparks, Corr. Rev., I, 395-6.

¹¹B. F. Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives, Vol. XVI, No. 1573. See Appendix A, No. 5a. H. Walpole, Journal of the reign of Geo. III, II, 131.

¹²The facts as to the recruiting are taken from the Revolutionary Rolls, in the N. H. State Papers, XV, 139-237. “Bennington Troops,” containing the names of officers and men with dates of enlistment and discharge, and residences of officers, etc. The distances are taken from the table of miles in list of members of the Assembly for June, 1777, in N. H. State Papers, VIII, 571-573.

eter, where Ebenezer Webster, father of Daniel Webster, raised his company of fifty-four men.

"As soon as it was decided to raise volunteer companies and place them under the command of Gen. Stark, Col. Hutchins [delegate from Concord] mounted his horse, and travelling all night with all possible haste, reached Concord on Sabbath afternoon, before the close of public service. Dismounting at the meeting-house door, he walked up the aisle of the church while Mr. Walker was preaching. Mr. Walker paused in his sermon, and said—'Col. Hutchins, are you the bearer of any message?' 'Yes,' replied the Colonel: 'Gen. Burgoyne, with his army, is on his march to Albany. Gen. Stark has offered to take the command of the New Hampshire men; and, if we all turn out, we can cut off Burgoyne's march.' Whereupon Rev. Mr. Walker said—'My hearers, those of you who are willing to go, better leave at once.' At which word all the men in the meeting-house rose and went out. Many immediately enlisted. The whole night was spent in preparation, and a company was ready to march next day."¹⁸ There must have been many similar scenes on that Sunday of recruiting, for before it ended seven companies of 419 men were enlisted.

On the third day of recruiting, seven more companies, numbering 390 men, volunteered under Captains from Chester and Pelham in the southeast; from Lyndeboro; and then, on the other side of the watershed, from Rindge, from Walpole and from Charlestown, one hundred and ten miles to the northwest on the Connecticut; and from Plymouth nearly as far distant on the northern frontier. Five more companies, numbering 252 men, enlisted on the next day, the 22nd of July, under Captains from Hopkinton, Gilmanton, and Sanbornton in the Merrimack region, and from Gilsum and Chesterfield in the southwest in the Connecticut basin. On the 23d of July, two companies enlisted under Captains from Chesterfield in the southwestern corner and from Hanover on the northwestern frontier; and on the following day the last of the twenty-five companies was recruited.

In these six days of recruiting, from the 19th to the 24th of

¹⁸Bouton, *History of Concord*, pp. 274-275.

July, 1,492 officers and men had enlisted to serve under Stark, and many of them had already begun their march to join him. The number of volunteers is the more remarkable, if we remember that in the sparsely settled state, with its scattered hamlets, most of them settled in the last generation, there were only 15,436 polls, according to the returns of that year.¹⁴ This would mean that nearly one man in ten of a voting age volunteered. In many of the towns more than ten per cent. of the males over sixteen years old volunteered. In half a dozen towns taken at random in different sections of the state, there enlisted on an average over fifteen per cent. In Chesterfield, out of 221 males over sixteen, twenty-one volunteered, or 9½ per cent.; in Hanover, 9.8 per cent.; in Concord, over 10 per cent.; in Swanzey, 12 per cent.; in Candia, 25 per cent.; and in Salisbury under Captain Ebenezer Webster, forty-one men volunteered, or over 36 per cent. of the male population over sixteen years old.¹⁵

Three facts explain this almost incredible swiftness of enlistment: first the spreading of the news through the return of the delegates from the three days' session at Exeter; second, the payment of "advanced wages;" and third, the eagerness to enlist under Stark. The people, especially the militia, may have suggested such action and consequently may have been expecting some such news; this is at least a plausible hypothesis which makes intelligible the rapid enlistment immediately on the return of the representatives like Col. Hutchins of Concord, and Matthew Patten of Bedford. There were nearly 1,500 men like

¹⁴N. H. State Papers, VIII, 687-689. A large number of towns in Grafton County made no returns. An examination of the State Papers shows that 97 towns were incorporated between 1761 and 1774. The list of polls of 1777 names 157 towns.

¹⁵Randall, *History of Chesterfield*, 95-96. Chase, *History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover*, 383, note. Bouton, *History of Concord*, 275. Read, *History of Swanzey*, 112. Morse, *History of Candia*, 79. Dearborne, Adams and Rolfe, *History of Salisbury*, 259-260.

The number of males over sixteen is taken from the census of 1775 which was made from the returns of the selectmen of each town. N. H. State Papers, VII, 724-781.

"Two-thirds of the entire body of men of military age within the territorial limits of the regiment [Morey's in northern Connecticut Valley] volunteered for the Bennington and Saratoga campaigns." Batchellor, *Ranger Service*, 21.

Thomas Mellen, who said: "I enlisted . . . as soon as I heard that Stark would accept the command of the state troops."¹⁶ The militia knew that Stark and the State of New Hampshire meant business, and they gave a business-like response.

The promptness of enlistment is matched and doubtless aided by Stark's characteristic rapidity of movement. On the 18th of July, Stark was appointed at Exeter. On the 19th, he received from the Chairman of the Committee of Safety, the following instructions:

"STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, Saturday, July 19th, 1777.

To Brig^d Gen^l Jⁿ^o Stark,—You are hereby required to repair to Charlestown, N^o. 4, so as to be there by the 24th—Thursday next, to meet and confer with persons appointed by the Convention of the State of Vermont relative to the route of the Troops under your Command, their being supplied with Provisions, and future operations—and when the troops are collected at N^o. 4, you are to take the Command of them and march into the State of Vermont, and there act in conjunction with the Troops of that State, or any other of the States, or of the United States, or separately, as it shall appear Expedient to you for the protection of the People or the annoyance of the Enemy, and from time to time as occasion shall require, send Intelligence to the Gen^l Assembly or Committee of Safety, of your operations, and the manoeuvres of the Enemy.

M. WEARE."¹⁷

While his Brigade was enlisting, Stark was crossing the State to the appointed rendezvous at Charlestown on the Connecticut River. He probably kept his appointment there on the 24th of

¹⁶For Col. Hutchins, see above, note 13.

Oral statement of Mellen taken down by J. D. Butler and printed in his address before the Vt. Legislature in 1848, pp. 26-29.

Patten, Diary, 371. July 13, notified by Col. Moore to go to Exeter; 14th set out; 17th-19th, sat in Gen. Court; "20th I arrived home I brot up for Col. Moor 802£ to pay advance wages to Soldiers to be Raised instantly." "23^d I went to Capt MacGaws in Newboston and mustered 52 men for Col: Moor they were of Lindborough Newboston Francistown Deering and Antrim my Expences was 1-6 at Mc Gaws. . . ."

The advance wages may have been paid out of Langdon's funds.

¹⁷Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 188-189; also in Records of the Council of Safety and Gov. and Council of Vt., I, 133.

July; on the 25th he was certainly at a point only two or three days distant by post from Manchester, Vermont, and other letters would indicate that this point was Charlestown.¹⁸ On the 28th, he "forwarded 250 men to their relief," that is to the Vermont militia at Manchester.¹⁹ On the 30th, he wrote from Charlestown: "I sent another detachment of [f] this day." For his swiftly gathering force, he had to provide "Kettles or utensils to cook our victuals as the Troops has not brought any," cannon and their carriages, bullets, and even "bullet moulds, as there is but one pair in town." As he prepared to cross into Vermont, he thoughtfully asked the New Hampshire Committee for "Rum . . . as there is none of that article in them parts where we are a going."¹⁹ By the 2d of August, two weeks after his appointment, "he had sent off from No. 4, 700 men to join Colo. Warner at Manchester," and intended to "follow them the next day (. . . Sunday) with 300 more; and had ordered the remainder to follow him as fast as they came into No. 4" [Charlestown].²⁰ His last recorded acts before leaving the state were provisions for the physical and spiritual welfare of his troops in letters from Charlestown on the 3d of August to his "Chirurgion," "Doc^r Solomon Chase," of Cornish, and to the Brigade Chaplain, "Rev. Mr. Hibbard at Claremont," a graduate of Dartmouth in the class of 1772.²¹

On the 6th of August, Stark was in the Green Mountains at Bromley, near Peru, Vermont, sending back word to Charlestown "to fix them cannon . . . for your defence . . . forward, with all convenient speed, all the rum and sugar . . . get all the cannon from Walpole."²² Swiftly as Stark and his brigade moved forward, he seems to have forgotten nothing necessary for the troops at the front or for those left behind to guard the stores. He was a "good provider" as well as a good fighter. The rum he secured from his friends; the cannon he captured from the enemy.

¹⁸Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 192. Cf. *ibid.*, 190, 193, and N. H. State Papers, VIII, 650, 655, 662, noting dates of dispatch and receipt of letters.

¹⁹N. H. State Papers, VIII, 650-651, Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 193.

²⁰Weare to N. Y. Comm., Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 194-195.

²¹N. H. State Papers, XVII, 144; *ibid.*, XV, 230.

²²Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 195.

On the 7th of August, he had crossed the Green Mountains and joined Warner and General Lincoln at Manchester near the western border of Vermont.²⁸ In twenty days Stark had more than fulfilled the first part of Langdon's prophecy—he had not only raised a brigade, he had also equipped his volunteers, and marched them across two states. Two days later, the 9th of August, he was at Bennington,²⁴ where within a week he was to realize the remainder of Langdon's patriotic vision and "check Burgoyne." It is not surprising that this characteristic swiftness and energy of Stark attracted volunteers and infused hope and an entirely new spirit into the troops of all the region.

The contrast with Burgoyne's slow progress makes Stark's rapidity seem the more striking. When Stark was appointed at Exeter, Burgoyne was at "Skeensborough House," on the present site of Whitehall, New York. By the time Stark had crossed New Hampshire and mustered his troops on the Connecticut River, Burgoyne had marched only twenty-eight miles southward to Fort Edward on the Hudson. While Stark was crossing Vermont, and organizing his brigade at Manchester and Bennington, Burgoyne and his army were delaying at Fort Edward where they remained until the 14th of August. It was two weeks before the British army, hampered by the untiring efforts of Schuyler and by the difficulties of transportation, were able to advance seven miles down the Hudson to Fort Miller.²⁵

A clear understanding of the position of the combatants on the 7th of August is necessary to comprehend the later plans and movements. Of the American forces, on the 7th of August, Stark was at Manchester, Vermont, with Warner and Lincoln;²⁶ Schuyler, who had been gradually withdrawing south-

²⁸N. H. State Papers, VIII, 662, Lincoln to Schuyler, quoted below p. 49. Capt. Peter Kimball's Diary says "Wendsdy 6th general Stark come in" to Manchester; this may have been only to the camp of the N. H. militia, so that he only met Lincoln Aug. 7.

²⁴N. H. State Papers, VIII, 670.

²⁵Hadden, *Orderly Book*, 91, 97-98, 117, and map p. 90 with distances. See Appendix C, Table showing daily positions and movements of combatants.

²⁶N. H. State Papers, VIII, 662. In N. H., The 7th of Aug. was "observed as a day of Publick Fasting, Humiliation & prayer." N. H. State Papers, VIII, 638, proclamation of July 19.

ward before Burgoyne's slow advance, had been since the 4th of August at Stillwater on the Hudson, "about twenty miles west of Bennington."²⁷ The British forces were situated as follows: Burgoyne was at Fort Edward, twenty-five to thirty miles north of Schuyler;²⁸ St. Leger, slowly moving down the Mohawk valley to join Burgoyne, had been delayed by the siege of Fort Stanwix, and on the 7th of August, the day after the battle of Oriskany, demanded the surrender of the Fort and received a sturdy refusal.²⁹ Bearing in mind these positions of the four commanders on the 7th of August—Stark at Manchester, Schuyler at Stillwater, Burgoyne at Fort Edward, and St. Leger at Fort Stanwix—we are prepared to discuss Schuyler's two different plans of campaign, and the strategic value of Stark's independent command.

Schuyler, until the 4th of August had approved the plan of retaining troops at Manchester or Bennington to fall upon Burgoyne's rear. On the 15th of July he therefore sent reinforcements to Warner. Two days later, he ordered the Massachusetts militia "to march to the relief of Colo. Warner and put themselves under his command. He is in the vicinity of Bennington." The 19th of July he urged the New Hampshire militia to "hasten your march to join" Warner who "has intelligence that a considerable body of the enemy will attempt to penetrate to Bennington." On the 29th of July, Schuyler sent General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts "to take command on the Grants." In his letter of this date to Warner, Schuyler expressed his hopes that "the Body under General Stark will be respectable;" and that "General Lincoln . . . will be able to make a powerful diversion." His letter of the 16th of July to Warner is worth quoting in full as a clear exposition of Schuyler's original plan.

²⁷Sparks, *Correspondence of the Amer. Rev.*, I, 419. The distance is given by Peter Clark, one of Stark's captains; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XIV, (1860) 122.

²⁸Hadden, *Orderly Book*, 98, 117. Burgoyne, *Orderly Book*, 67.

²⁹Documents in Dawson, *Battles*, I, 248-253, giving statement of St. Leger and Willet; cf. also 240. Stone *Life of Brant*, I, 234. Lossing, *Schuyler*, I, 282. The date of the battle of Oriskany is incorrectly given as Aug. 7, in Winsor, *Handbook of the Rev.*, 140. Burgoyne on Aug. 12 "received intelligence of an action near Fort Stanwix." *State of Expedition*, 77.

"Fort Edward, July 16, 1777.

To Colo Warner

Sir I am this moment informed by Capt Fitch that the New Hampshire Militia are marching to join me. It is not my intention, much as I am in want of troops, that they should come hither as it would expose the country in that quarter to the depredations of the Enemy: I therefore enclose you an order for them to join you if none are arrived, you will send express for them. I hope when they come you will be able, if not to attack the Enemy, at least to advance so near as to bring off the well affected and to secure the Malignants.

I am Sir

Your most hum: Serv

PH SCHUYLER"⁸⁰

Schuyler communicated this plan to Washington, on the 21st and 22d of July and received the following approval of his measures:

"You intimate the propriety of having a body of men stationed somewhere about the Grants. The expediency of such a measure appears to me evident; for it would certainly make General Burgoyne very circumspect in his advances if it did not wholly prevent them. It would keep him in continual anxiety for his rear . . . and would serve many other valuable purposes."⁸¹

Washington continued to urge the retention of troops on the Vermont border, even after Schuyler abandoned the plan. On the 16th of August, the very day when Stark's victory at Bennington demonstrated the wisdom of the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, Washington wrote to Governor Clinton of New York:

"From some expressions in a letter, which I have seen, written by General Lincoln to General Schuyler, I am led to infer, it is in contemplation to unite all the militia and continental troops in

⁸⁰N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, (1879), 169-170, 172. "Gen. Philip Schuyler's Orderly Book Ft. Edward, Albany, June 29 to Aug. 18, 1777;" MS. in American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass., pp. 49, 55, 63. See Appendix A and B. The letter of July 16 is given as it appears in the Worcester Book; printed copy in N. Y. Coll. adds: "Let me hear from you soon."

⁸¹Sparks, Writings of Washington, V, 1-3, Ford, do. V. 508-512.

one body, and make an opposition wholly in front. If this is really the intention, I should think it a very ineligible plan. An enemy can always act with more vigor and effect, when they have nothing to apprehend for their flanks and rear, than when they have. . . . If a respectable body of men were to be stationed on the Grants, it would undoubtedly have the effects intimated above, would render it not a little difficult for General Burgoyne to keep the necessary communication open; and they would frequently afford opportunities of intercepting his convoys. . . . These reasons make it clearly my opinion, that a sufficient body of militia should always be reserved in a situation proper to answer those purposes. If there should be more collected, than is requisite for this use, the surplusage may with propriety be added to the main body of the army. I am not, however, so fully acquainted with every circumstance, that ought to be taken into consideration, as to pretend to do anything more than advise in the matter. Let those on the spot determine and act as appears to them most prudent."²²

Now it was exactly in accord with this sound and repeated advice of Washington, and in pursuance of the original plan of Schuyler himself, that Stark and the Vermont Council of Safety, "those on the spot," proposed to act. Schuyler, on the other hand, abandoned this plan of a flank attack, when he found the enemy pressing closer upon the main body of his own army. He thereupon ordered all the militia on the Vermont frontier to join him at Stillwater on the Hudson. Consequently, when Stark arrived at Manchester, Vermont, on the 7th of August, he found that his own brigade had, without his knowledge, been ordered to Stillwater and had begun their preparations for the march.²³

The first evidence of Schuyler's change of plan is on the 3d of August, the day when St. Leger appeared before Fort Stanwix or Schuyler. By that time, Schuyler was aware in general of

²²Ford, Writings of Washington, VI, 34-35; Sparks, do. V. 31-32.

²³N. H. Patriot, May 15, 1810. This article is stated to be by Stark's son-in-law, B. F. Stickney, in the "Biographical Sketch of Stark" in Farmer and Moore, Collections, I (1822), 116. The Biographical Sketch quotes the incident verbatim. See also below p. 47. Lincoln wrote to Stark the day previous, desiring to communicate (but not disclosing) contents of Schuyler's letter. See Appendix A, No. 32.

this approach of hostile troops from the west down the Mohawk valley on his left flank. He also keenly realized that Burgoyne was "making every exertion to move down" the Hudson to attack the American center. Schuyler therefore on the 3d of August, "the generals having unanimously advised" him, fell back from Saratoga to Stillwater and on the next day called in the militia stationed in Vermont, on his right flank. On this 4th of August he wrote to Lincoln, who was then at Manchester:

"In all probability he [Burgoyne] has left nothing at Skenesborough, except what is so covered that it is not probable that your moving that way without artillery would give him any Alarm. I must desire you to march your whole Force, except Warner's Regiment and join me with all possible Dispatch."³⁴

Five days later, on the 9th of August, Schuyler asked the Vermont militia also to join him, as Burgoyne's "whole force is pointed this way" and as "there is no great probability that force will be sent your way until he shall have taken possession of this City" [Albany].³⁵ Schuyler writing from Albany was not well informed; he did not know that on the very day he wrote this, Baum received his instructions from Burgoyne and started on his march toward Bennington.³⁶ Schuyler did not realize the effect of his own wise policy of devastation and obstruction of the country through which the British army had to pass. He was deceived by Burgoyne's pretence of a movement down the Hudson. He failed to put himself in Burgoyne's place and see that the British, retarded by the obstacles in their front and by the difficulty of getting stores from their rear, would naturally attempt by a flank movement to capture the horses, cattle, and provisions

³⁴Extract given in C. F. Libbie's sale catalogue of Nov. 14, 1888, the present owner unknown. Copy of letter in Sparks MSS., X, 287, (Harvard Library).

³⁵Schuyler to P. Spooner (Dep. Sec. Vt. Comm. Safety), Albany, Aug. 9. Schuyler's Orderly Book, (Worcester), p. 32. See Appendix A, No. 40. Aug. 16, Schuyler still thought the "Enemy are pointing their whole Force this way." See Appendix A, No. 49.

³⁶Hadden, Journal, 110-111; Glich's account in Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 213-214; Digby, Journal, 248; Burgoyne, State of Expedition, 13, 107. See Appendix B, No. 43.

at Bennington, twenty-five miles away.⁸⁷ It was "those on the spot," Stark and the Vermont Council of Safety, who did realize both the likelihood of such an expedition and the possibilities of a counter-movement by the American militia stationed at Bennington.

The critical period of the campaign preceding the battle of Bennington is the week from the 7th to the 13th of August. In this week was decided the question whether the militia should all march to Stillwater, according to Schuyler's new plan; or whether they should remain on the Vermont border to execute the flank attack originally planned by Schuyler and advocated by Washington, Stark, and the Vermont Council. Within this week Stark arrived at Manchester, assumed command of his brigade and marched to Bennington; with the aid of the Vermont Committee of Safety, he convinced Schuyler and Lincoln that the militia should not march directly to Stillwater, but should rather prepare for the attack on the enemy's flank; therefore on the 13th of August, Stark was "on the spot" and ready to begin this attack when Baum appeared eighteen miles from Bennington. This question and its settlement are manifestly of supreme importance. Yet with all its importance the question of the plans and movements of all three generals has never been set forth with completeness in any one of the many accounts of the battle or the campaign. This can now be done in the light of documents recently printed or discovered.⁸⁸

By the 12th of August Schuyler appears reconverted to his original plan of attacking the enemy's flank and rear. The following explanation of the change is given in a sketch of Stark published the year of his death, in Farmer and Moore's Collections. This sketch was based on an account by Stark's son-in-law in *N. H. Patriot*, May 15, 1810, and on particulars given by

⁸⁷For the attitude of Burgoyne and his officers, see his *State of the Expedition*, 13, and Appendix, p. xxii; his "Narrative," quoted from preceding in Fonblanque, *Episodes*, 271-2: his letter to Germaine, *ibid.*, 276; Glich's account, in *Vt. H. S. Coll.*, I, 212 ("deplorable deficiency in the means of transportation . . . into a desert country . . . corn . . . laid waste . . . cattle driven away . . . grain, grass carefully removed"). The distance is given in Hadden's map, *Journal*, 90, as 25 miles; by Sir Francis Clarke as about 29 miles in Burgoyne, *State of Expedition*, 77.

⁸⁸See below p. 40 and notes 42, 43; and Appendix A, Nos. 43, 48, 49, 50.

Stark's oldest son Caleb, who had been an adjutant in the Northern army, and who after the battle had carried to his father a message from General Gates.

"General Schuyler opened a correspondence with Stark, and endeavored to prevail on him to come to the Sprouts. The latter gave him a detail of his intended operations, viz., to fall upon the rear of Burgoyne, to harrass and cut off his supplies. Gen. Schuyler approved the plan and offered to furnish him with five or six hundred men more to carry it into execution."³⁹

The correspondence substantiates this statement; and indicates that Lincoln aided in bringing Stark and Schuyler into agreement on the basis of the original plan of a flank movement. From the 7th to the 10th of August, Lincoln was with Stark at Manchester and Bennington and corresponding with Schuyler. On the 12th, Lincoln was with Schuyler at Stillwater and wrote to Washington: "I am to return with the militia from the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and the Grants, to the Northward, with a design to fall into the rear of Burgoyne."⁴⁰ On the 14th, Lincoln wrote Stark from Half Moon, a few miles below Stillwater: "Your favor of yesterday's date, per express, I received on the road to this place. As the troops were not on the march, I am glad you detained them in Bennington. Our plan is adopted. I will bring with me camp kettles, Axes, ammunition and flints . . . You will please to meet us, as proposed, on the morning of the 18th. If the enemy shall have possession of that place, and in your opinion it becomes improper for us to rendezvous there, you will be so good as to appoint another, and advise me of the place. . . ."⁴¹

Finally, the statements of the Patriot article of 1810, and of Farmer and Moore's Sketch of 1822 are fully confirmed by

³⁹Farmer and Moore, Collections, I, (1822), 103, 116; from N. H. Patriot, May 15, 1810. For facts regarding Caleb Stark, see Memoir of Stark, 350-351. "The Sprouts" were "at the mouth of the Mohawk River." Farmer & Moore, 102.

⁴⁰Sparks, Corr. of the Amer. Rev., I, 423. Schuyler wrote from Stillwater to Warner, same day and to same effect. See Appendix A, No. 43.

⁴¹Memoir and Official Corr. of Stark, 126. The reference to the marching and detention of troops on the 13th is explained by the statement of Capt. Peter Clark, below p. 48.

the Trumbull Papers, published in 1902, and by an unprinted letter discovered in the present investigation. Schuyler transmitted to Lincoln on the 15th of August a letter received from Stark and added this endorsement: "You will see his determination and regulate yourself accordingly."⁴² "Gen. Lincoln is moved this day, with about 5 or 600 from our little army to fall in & coöperate with Starks," wrote Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., from Albany, on the 17th of August.⁴³

This plan of attacking Burgoyne's rear and flank from Vermont must have been discussed by Stark and Lincoln when they were together between the 7th and 10th of August. Schuyler's letters show that he reverted to this original plan between the 9th and 12th of August. Now this is just the time when Lincoln and Stark at Bennington were corresponding with Schuyler, and when Lincoln went in person from Stark to Schuyler. On the 12th of August, then, while Schuyler and Lincoln were together at Stillwater, Schuyler wrote to Warner a letter marked "secret":

"A movement is intended from here with part of the Army to fall in the enemy's rear. You will therefore march your regiment and such of the militia and ranging Companies as you can speedily collect to the Northern part of Cambridge District in this state where the troops from hence will be there to join you, so as to be there on the 18th at farthest."⁴⁴

This gives the details of the plan which, as we have seen above, Lincoln communicated to Washington on the same day and from the same place. Further details of the same plan are given in Schuyler's letter of the following day, the 13th of August, to Lincoln:

"You will please to take command of the Troops that are now on the way from Bennington and march them to the East Side of Hudson's River to the Northern parts of Cambridge, where Col. Warner has orders to join you. Should you on your arrival at

⁴²MS. letter in possession of Samuel T. Crosby, Esq., Hingham, Mass. Printed in Appendix A, No. 48. Stark's letter to Schuyler cannot now be found.

⁴³Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 7th Ser., II (1902), 119. See Appendix A, No. 50.

⁴⁴Schuyler's MS. Orderly Book (Worcester), p. 79, No. 1908. See Appendix A, No. 43.

that place find it practicable, by coup de main, to make an Impression on any post the Enemy may occupy, you will, if there is a prospect of success, make the attempt."⁴⁶

To this same plan of a combined flank attack, Lincoln evidently referred in his letter of the 14th of August, quoted above, in which he wrote Stark:

"Our plan is adopted . . . meet us as proposed . . . If the enemy shall have possession of that place . . . appoint another."

Finally, the agreement of the three generals on the plan is indicated in Schuyler's letter on the day of the battle of Bennington, the 16th day of August, to the Massachusetts council:

"Lincoln . . . was at ten this Morning at Half Moon . . . and is by my orders,—going to join General Stark and try to make a Diversion and draw off the Attention of the enemy by marching to the Northern parts of Cambridge Vt. [New York]. . . Happily I have assurances from General Stark that he will not hesitate to do what is required."⁴⁶

Unfortunately Schuyler and Lincoln agreed upon this flank attack too late to aid Stark in its execution. On the 16th of August they were still twenty miles away, on the banks of the Hudson, Schuyler planning "to make a Diversion and draw off the Attention of the enemy," and Lincoln just starting with 500 or 600 men—on the very day when Stark won the battle of Bennington, before reinforcements from the Continental army on the Hudson could reach him.⁴⁷

On the 9th of August, Stark marched to Bennington instead of proceeding directly to Stillwater. On the same day Burgoyne played into his hands by detaching Baum on the expedition toward Bennington to "try the affection of the Country; to disconcert the Councils of the Enemy . . . and obtain large supplies

⁴⁶Schuyler to Lincoln, Stillwater, Aug. 13, 1777. Extract printed as above in C. F. Libbie's sale catalogue of Nov. 14, 15, 1888. A complete copy of the original sold on that day is desired by the writers, who have been unable to obtain from Mr. Libbie the name of the buyer.

⁴⁷Schuyler to Mass. Council, Forts Five Miles below Stillwater, Aug. 16, 1777. MS. in Mass. Archives, Vol. 198, p. 44. See Appendix A, No. 49.

⁴⁸See Appendix A, Nos. 48, 50, 57.

of Cattle, Horses & Carriages."⁴⁸ On the day he received these instructions from Burgoyne, Baum marched from Fort Edward southward to Fort Miller. Two days later he set out from Fort Miller to Saratoga. The 12th, he moved from Saratoga to Battenkill, on the east side of the Hudson, and here halted to receive fresh instructions from Burgoyne. On the 13th, Baum slowly marched sixteen miles in twelve hours from Battenkill to Cambridge, which was on the direct road to Bennington and only eighteen miles distant from it. On this day, "thirty provincials and fifty savages" of Baum's force came into collision with two small bodies of Americans and so gave warning of the nearness of the British.⁴⁹ "Long before sunrise on the 14th," Baum's "little corps was under arms," with the "intention to march at once upon Bennington"; but he was delayed "at the farm . . . of Sankoik" on "the northern branch of the Hosac," where the retreating Americans had broken down the bridge. He therefore "bivouacked at the farm of Walmscott, about four miles from Sankoick, and three from Bennington." On the 15th, Baum finding his outposts again attacked, sent back for reinforcements, and fortified a position on a height to the left of "the farm of Walmscott." A few sentences from the stirring "Account of the Battle of Bennington," by Glich, give a clear-cut picture of the engagement as viewed by the Germans from their entrenchments:

"The morning of the sixteenth rose beautifully serene. . . . Colonel Baume . . . some how or other persuaded to believe, that the armed bands, of whose approach he was warned, were loyalists . . . found himself attacked in front and flanked by thrice his number . . . whilst the very persons in whom he had trusted, and

⁴⁸Burgoyne's "Instructions for Lieut. Col. Baume," in Burgoyne's State of Expedition, App. pp. xxxiv-xxxviii, with Burgoyne's amendments; Hadden, Journal, 111; N. H. State Papers, VIII, 664; Stone, Burgoyne's Campaign, Appendix 3; Mass. H. S. C. 2d Ser. II, 25-27. Stark enclosed a copy of the instructions in his letter of Aug. 18 to N. H. Authorities.

⁴⁹For Baum's march, see: Hadden, Journal, 110-111; Digby, Journal, 248, 250; Baum's letters to Burgoyne, in Burgoyne, State of Expedition, Appendix XII; Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 198-201; "Glich's Account," in Vt. H. S. Coll., I, 211-223; Stone, letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers, 96 ff., translated from Schlözer, Briefwechsel, III, 35 ff. Breyman's Account in Gentleman's Magazine, 1778, pp. 119-120. A "Relation of the expedition to Bennington," *ibid.*, 121-2.

to whom he had given arms, lost no time in turning them against him. . . . When the heads of the columns began to show themselves in rear of our right and left . . . the Indians . . . lost all confidence and fled . . . leaving us more than ever exposed. . . . An accident . . . exposed us, almost defenseless, to our fate. The solitary tumbril, which contained the whole of our spare ammunition, became ignited, and blew up. For a few seconds the scene which ensued defies all power of language to describe. The bayonet, the butt of the rifle, the sabre, the pike, were in full play, and men fell as they rarely fall in modern warfare, under the direct blows of their enemies. . . . Col. Baume, shot through the body by a rifle ball, fell mortally wounded; and all order and discipline being lost, flight or submission was alone thought of."⁸⁰

⁸⁰"Account of the Battle of Bennington by Glich, a German Officer who was in the Engagement under Col. Baum," printed in the *Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I, 211-223; for the above extracts, see pp. 216-222. H. D. Hall (in *Vt. Hist. Soc. Pro.*, Oct. 20 and Nov. 5, 1896, p. 51, note) finds no officer Glick in the British army and thinks "the narrative attributed to him is taken from the story by Rev. George Robert Gleig, of England, styled "*Saratoga*," in which the hero, *Macdirk*, gives nearly *verbatim* the same account of *his experience* in the battle." The name Glich or Glick does not appear in the indices of Hadden's or Digby's Journals, Burgoyne's Orderly Book, or of Rosengarten's ed. of Eelking's German Allied Troops.

The spelling of the proper names is as varied as could be expected when men of three countries tried to spell names of a language with which none seem to have been familiar. Baum and Skene called it Sankoik; the Brunswick Officer in Schlozer's Briefwechsel, Sain Cuik (III, 38); "Glich's Account," Sankoik and Sankoick; in Burgoyne's accounts it is called variously Sancoix Mills, Saint Coick, St. Coick, and even Saintwick Mills; in the map in the *Gentleman's Mag.* Jan. 1778, it is Sanhick; Fay called it St. Koik; and Spooner turned it into good Irish-American as St. Cork!

What is now called Walloomsac was written Walloms Kork by Breyman, but was Anglicised into Walloon-Creek when printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; "Glich's Account," spelled it Walmscott; Durnford, Walmscock, but in his map he may be excused for getting the River wrongly as the "Hosack"; Skene, Wallamscoock; Stark, Walloomscoock, and Wallumscoick; Spooner, Wallomsback; Vt. Council, Wallomschaick; Lincoln, Lormscork; and by the time it reached Boston it became Loomschork in the "Handbill."

With all this confusion of tongues, it seems reasonable to call the battle by the name by which it speedily came to be known and has continued to be called on both sides of the water, the "Battle of Bennington"; e. g. by Stark in 1778 (*N. H. State Papers*, XVI, 419, 424); by Hancock in transmitting resolve of Congress (Stark, *Mem. and Corr.*, 139, Oct. 5, 1777); by the "General Assembly" of Mass., Dec. 4, 1777, (*Mem. and Corr. Stark*, 140); by Stiles who had from Stark "an acc^o of the Battle of Bennington," Jan. 28, 1778; and in the examination of Earl Harrington by the Committee of the House of Commons (Burgoyne, *State of Expedition*, 56); and by the settled usage of historians. Captain Peter Kimball in his diary (*Coffin, Boscawen*, 263) called it "ye actions at Benningtown."

From the letters of Baum and the picturesque account of Glich, we must turn, for the American story, to the terse dispatch of Stark to the New Hampshire authorities, written two days after the battle:

"The 13th I was inform'd that a party of Indians were at Cambridge . . . I detached Col^o Gregg with 200 men under his command to stop their march. In the evening I had information by express that there was a large body of the enemy on their way with their field pieces. . . . The 14th I marched with my Brigade & a few of this States' Militia, to oppose them, and to cover Gregg's retreat. . . . About four miles from the Town [Bennington] I accordingly met him on his return, and the Enemy in close pursuit of him, within half a mile of his rear. . . . I drew up my little army on an eminence in open view of their encampments, but could not bring them to an engagement. I marched back about a mile, and there encamp'd. . . . The 15th it rain'd all day; I sent out parties to harass them.

"The 16th I was joined by this States' Militia and those of Berkshire County; I divided my army into three Divisions, and sent Col. Nichols with 250 men on their rear of their left wing; Col^o. Hendrick in the Rear of their right, with 300 men, order'd when join'd to attack the same.

"In the mean time I sent 300 men to oppose the Enemy's front, to draw their attention that way; Soon after I detach'd the Colonels Hubbard & Stickney on their right wing with 200 men to attack that part, all which plans had their desired effect. Col^o Nichols sent me word that he stood in need of a reinforcement, which I readily granted, consisting of 100 men, at which time he commenced the attack precisely at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, which was followed by all the rest. I pushed forward the remainder with all speed; our people behaved with the greatest spirit & bravery imaginable: Had they been Alexanders or Charleses of Sweden, they could not have behaved better. The action lasted two hours. . . . I rec^d intelligence that there was a large reinforcement within two miles of us, on their march, which occasion'd us to renew our attack. But luckily for us Col^o Warner's Regiment came up, which put a stop to their career. . . . We used

their own cannon against them. . . . At Sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time. . . .

I have 1 Lieut. Col^o since dead, 1 major, 7 Captains, 14 Lieut^s 4 Ensigns, 2 Cornets, 1 Judge advocate, 1 Barron, 2 Cannadian officers, 6 sergeants, 1 Aid-de-camp & seven hundred prisoners; —I almost forgot 1 Hessian Chaplain."⁵¹

In his tactics on the battle field, Stark showed the same qualities he had displayed in the general strategy of the campaign—quick insight and decision, followed by deliberate and stubborn action. At Bennington, just as at Bunker Hill and Trenton, Stark was quick to see the importance of flank movements, and cool in carrying them out. He was "as active in attack as he had then been obstinate in defense."⁵² Because he had insisted on the plan of a flank movement in the campaign preceding the battle, Stark had a force on the spot ready to oppose Baum and "check Burgoyne."

The battle of Bennington was won by the militia of New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts, under the command of Stark. As we have already seen, Lincoln was at Half Moon on the Hudson the day of the battle, and was not in time, therefore, to return and coöperate with Stark and Warner. Stark and his troops would likewise have been unable to return to Bennington,

⁵¹Stark to N. H. authorities, printed in N. H. State Papers, VIII, 670-671. It is apparently a more trustworthy copy of Stark's laconic style and phonetic spelling than those in either the Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 204 or in the Stark Memoir, 126, both of which are taken from the "Historical Collections and Monthly Literary Journal." The days of the week, however, inserted in the N. H. Papers, are incorrectly given. Hubbard is a misspelling for Hobart; and Hendrick for Herrick. The "Lieut. Col^o since dead" was Baum. Stark's letter of Aug. 22 or 23 to Gates gives substantially the same account with much the same language; but it gives less accurately a total of 800 instead of 1100 in the three detachments sent forward; and to the 753 prisoners of Aug. 18 this letter of Aug. 22 adds on basis of later information "two hundred and seven dead on the spot" making a total of 960 dead or taken prisoners. Vt. H. S. Coll., I, 206-207; Stark, Memoir, 129-132. The total number dead, wounded and prisoners is given as 991 in Gates Papers, Stark's MSS., X. Stark did not give the total number of troops for either side. Lincoln reported the number engaged as "about 2,000" under Stark, against "about 1,500 of the enemy." Capt. Barnes brought to Boston a report of 1,750 under Stark, and 2,500 (evidently an exaggeration) of the enemy. See Appendix A, Nos. 56, 57, 65; Appendix B, No. 36.

⁵²Trevelyan, Amer. Rev., Pt. II, Vol. II, 107; there applied to Stark at Trenton.

had he allowed them on the 7th of August to march to Stillwater as they had been ordered to do before he arrived at Manchester and "chose to command himself." That there was any respectable force at Bennington capable of offering resistance to Baum is due to the resolute good sense of Stark and of the Vermont Council of Safety, and to the terms of the independent command given Stark by the State of New Hampshire. Had Schuyler's orders of the 4th and 9th of August to Lincoln and the Vermont Council been carried out, the militia would have been on the Hudson more than twenty miles away, when Baum approached Bennington.⁵⁸ The facts, then, as told by the participants fully substantiate the statement of Josiah Bartlett quoted at the beginning of this paper:

"Had Gen^l Starks gone to Stillwater agreeable to orders; there would have been none to oppose Col. Baum in carrying Gen^l Burgoyne's orders into Execution."

It is evident that Stark's fellow citizens and fellow soldiers of New Hampshire and Vermont understood the situation and had some substantial reasons for feeling that the independent command was justified both by the conditions which preceded it and by the results which followed.

The unfavorable judgment of General Lincoln and of the Continental Congress remains to be discussed. The usual statement is that Stark, on his arrival at Manchester, was ordered by Schuyler to march to Stillwater and refused to do so. Two facts which seem to have escaped notice show this statement to be a somewhat misleading half-truth. In the first place, Schuyler's orders were not to Stark; they were transmitted directly by Lincoln to Stark's brigade of militia without Stark's knowledge. Second, Stark eventually acted in harmony with Schuyler; he started to march to the appointed rendezvous at Cambridge on the 13th when he received word that the enemy were already there; and on the 16th of September he did march to Stillwater, but he marched *via* Bennington, and after carrying out the flank attack desired by both Schuyler and Washington.

⁵⁸For a confirmation of this from Burgoyne's point of view, see his *State of the Expedition*, 106-107.

Of the relations between Lincoln and Stark at Manchester Vermont on the 7th of August, we have three accounts: one by Lincoln in a letter to Schuyler transmitted by the latter to Congress; one in a letter by Captain Peter Clark of Stark's brigade; and a newspaper account, which appeared in Stark's lifetime, "collected from the papers and conversations of the General by his son-in-law, B. F. Stickney, Esq."⁵⁴ Stark's own account, contained in a letter written the 7th of August and acknowledged on the 12th by the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, cannot now be found.⁵⁵ The nearest approach to Stark's story is therefore the version which appears to have been given by Stark to his family and published by his son-in-law in the *Concord Patriot*, May 15, 1810, twelve years before the general's death. This is also quoted verbatim in the "Biographical Sketch" published in the year of Stark's death in Farmer and Moore's Collections, and stated by them to be based on particulars given by Stark's oldest son Caleb and his son-in-law, Stickney. This contemporary family account is as follows:

"He [Stark] found the advantage of his independent command immediately upon his arrival at Manchester, for the packs of his men were paraded as for a march. He enquired for the cause, and was informed Gen. Lincoln had been there and had ordered them off to the Sprouts, at the mouth of Mohawk river. He sought for, and found Lincoln, and demanded of him his authority for undertaking the command of his men. Lincoln said it was by order of General Schuyler. Stark desired him to tell Gen. Schuyler that he considered himself adequate to the command of his own men, and gave him copies of his commission and orders."⁵⁶

This family version is corroborated by the testimony of one

⁵⁴"Sketch of Stark," in Farmer and Moore's Collections, I (1822), 116. The article itself is in *N. H. Patriot*, Concord, N. H., May 15, 1810, unsigned.

⁵⁵This letter has been sought for in vain, and is greatly desired by the writer. See Appendix A, No. 35.

⁵⁶*N. H. Patriot*, Concord, N. H., May 15, 1810. The "Biographical Sketch of John Stark," in Farmer and Moore's Collections, I (1822), 102, quotes this verbatim, and in note at end cites Stickney's article as one of the authorities for Sketch.

of Stark's captains, Peter Clark, of Lyndeboro, New Hampshire, who wrote his wife as follows:

"Manchester [Vt.], August 6, 1777.

. . . We have made us tents with boards but this moment we have had orders to march for Bennington and leave them, and from thence we are to march for Albany to join the Continental Army, and try to stop Burgoyne in his career. . . .

August 7, 1777.

A few minutes after I finished my letter there was a considerable turn in affairs by reason of Gen.¹ Stark arriving in town. The orders we had for marching was given by General Lincoln—what passed between Lincoln and Stark is not known but by what we can gather together, Stark chooses to command himself. I expect we shall march for Bennington next Sabbath and where we shall go to from there I cannot tell."⁵⁷

It was entirely natural for Stark to "choose to command himself" the brigade which he had raised, and which he had been commissioned to command. It was also inevitable that the sturdy and quick tempered old Indian fighter should have felt affronted, when we found that his volunteer militia had been ordered off without his knowledge, and moreover that the order had been given by one of the men who had been made a major-general when Stark was passed over, the previous February, by Congress.⁵⁸ Consequently, a strong personal feeling inevitably cropped out in the conversation between Lincoln and Stark; and this personal element was naturally emphasized in the following account sent by Lincoln to Schuyler.

⁵⁷N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., XIV, (1860), 121-122. Stark himself marched the next day Friday, (not Sunday, as incorrectly given in copy of his account, N. H. State Papers, VIII, 670) Aug. 8, and arrived at Bennington, Sat. Aug. 9. Clark came to Bennington from Manchester, Monday, Aug. 11; *ibid.*, and Vt. H. S. Coll., I, 204. The Memoir of Stark by Caleb Stark (p. 48) entirely misses the point of Lincoln's giving orders to Stark's men without consulting the latter. The failure to notice this was probably due to the error in chronology by which Lincoln's arrival with instructions is incorrectly given in the Memoir as *after* Stark's arrival at Manchester, Aug. 9, whereas Lincoln had arrived at Manchester Aug. 2, and wrote from Manchester Aug. 6 to Stark. See Appendix A, Nos. 42 and 32.

⁵⁸See Appendix A, Nos. 1 and 4.

"Bennington, Aug.st 8.th 1777.

Dear General

Yesterday Gen.^l Stark from New Hampshire came into Camp at Manchester—by his Instructions from that State It is at his option to Act in Conjunction with the Continental Army or not. He seems to be exceedingly soured and thinks he hath been neglected and hath not had Justice done him by Congress—he is determined not to join the Continental Army untill the Congress give him his Rank therein—his Claim is to command all the Officers he Commanded last Year as also all those who joined the Army after him. Whether he will march his Troops to *Stillwater* or not I am quite at a loss to know—but If he doth it is a fixed point with him to act there as a Seperate Chor and take no orders from any officer in the Northern Department saving your Honour for he saith they all were *Either Commanded by him the last year or joined the Army after him* Its very unhappy that this matter by him is carried to so great a length especially at at (sic) time when Every exertion for our Common Safety is so absolutely Necessary I have Good Reason to believe if the State of New Hampshire were Informed of the Matter they would give New and Very different Instructions to Gen.^l Starkes. The Troops from the Massachusetts are Collecting here I don't know what Number may be Expected. I suppose the Rear will be up tomorrow night at farthest I am Dear Sir with Regard and Esteem your most Obed.^t Humble Servt B. Lincoln"⁵⁹

To Lincoln's letter Schuyler made immediate and tactful reply. "You will please to assure General Stark that I have acquainted Congress of his situation, and that I trust and entreat he will, on the present alarming crisis, waive his right, as the greater the sacrifice he makes to his feelings, the greater will be the honor due to him."⁶⁰ Lincoln forwarded this letter to

⁵⁹MS. copy in Gov. Josiah Bartlett's Correspondence, Vol. I, Dartmouth College Library, in hand of Geo. Frost. The latter's comments are given below, p. 52. The letter without the comments is printed in N. H. State Papers, VIII, 662; and in Lossing, Schuyler, II, 263. Lincoln was mistaken in thinking N. H. would give "new and very different instructions." See the N. H. reply to Stark in Appendix A, No. 44.

⁶⁰Lossing, Schuyler, II, 263, from "Schuyler's MS. Letter Book."

Stark with the generous endorsement: "I can only subjoin my entreaties to his that you will not now, when every exertion for the common safety is necessary, suffer any consideration to prevent your affording him all the succour in your power."⁸¹

These three letters of Lincoln and Schuyler constitute the evidence left by them as to any lack of harmony with Stark. There is no reference to it by Schuyler in his defence before the court martial; none by Stark after the missing letter of the 7th of August; and none by Washington in his correspondence. Stark and Schuyler knew and valued each other, and Lincoln acted honorably and tactfully.

We have already seen that Schuyler was reconverted to the plan of a flank attack and planned to send Lincoln to aid Stark in carrying it out. Stark also on his part shared the readiness to co-operate with Lincoln and Stark in a flank movement toward the Hudson. He began his march before the battle of Bennington and completed it after winning the victory. On the 8th of August, Stark advanced half way to Stillwater, marching some twenty miles southwest from Machester, Vermont, to Bennington. On the 13th, Stark was preparing to continue his march, apparently to Cambridge in pursuance of the plan agreed upon with Lincoln, when news came of the approach of Baum. On the 13th, says Captain Peter Clark, "the whole Brigade was paraded to march to Still Water and while under arms the General, received intelligence that there was a large body of the Enemy coming to destroy the Stores at Bennington, whereupon the Brigade was dismissed."⁸² On receipt of Stark's letter of the same day, Lincoln replied: "As the troops were not on the march, I am glad you detained them in Bennington. . . . If the enemy have possession of that place . . . [i. e. Cambridge] appoint another."⁸³ The credit for this wise delay at Bennington Stark generously gave to the Vermont Council of Safety, with whom he evidently acted in fullest harmony. Two days after the battle, he wrote to the Hartford Courant as follows:

⁸¹Lincoln to Stark, Bennington, Aug. 9. Sparks MSS. (Harvard Lib.), X, 290.

⁸²Clark to his wife, Bennington, Aug. 18; in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., XIV, 122.

⁸³Mem. Stark, 126. Cf. above p. 40.

"I received orders to march to Manchester and act in conjunction with Col. Warner. After my arrival at that place I received orders from Major General Lincoln pursuant to orders from General Schuyler, to march my whole brigade to Stillwater, and join the main army then under his command. At the same time requested the whole of the militia (by Gen. Schuyler's order) of the State of Vermont to join him and march to Stillwater as aforesaid. In obedience thereto I marched with my brigade to Bennington on my way to join him, leaving that part of the country almost naked to the ravage of the enemy. The Honorable the Council then sitting at Bennington were much against my marching with my Brigade, as it was raised on their request, they apprehending great danger of the enemy's approaching to that place, which afterwards we found truly to be the case. They happily agreed to postpone giving orders to the militia to march."⁶⁴

Congress was not so well informed of the situation as were Schuyler and Lincoln and the Vermont Council. The action of Congress was therefore neither particularly intelligent nor timely. The letter of the 8th of August from Lincoln to Schuyler describing his meeting with Stark, already quoted above, was forwarded by Schuyler to Congress. Upon that body it made naturally an impression that was both unfavorable and false. The impression was unfavorable, since the letter so strongly emphasized the personal grievances of Stark and his criticism of Congress. The impression was false, because, while not stating definitely the reasons for the actions of New Hampshire, the letter would give the casual or prejudiced reader the false idea that New Hampshire gave Stark the independent com-

⁶⁴Vt. H. Soc. Coll., I, 228-229, from the Hartford Courant of Oct. 7, 1777. Stark was not strictly accurate in regard to his orders from N. H.; he was to "act in conjunction with the Troops of that State or any other of the States or of the United States or separately as it shall appear Expedient to you." Ibid., 188-9, and see above p. 31. He gives however the real import of his orders as he and the N. H. Comm. understood them. So the N. H. Comm. of Safety wrote, July 23 to Artemas Ward: "Orders issued . . . for militia . . . to march immediately to the assistance of our Friends in the new State of Vermont, under the command of Br. Gen. Stark." N. H. State Papers, VIII, 645. Cf. Weare's letter of Aug. 5, to N. Y. Comm. Safety, Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 194.

mand because he felt he "hath not had justice done him by Congress." In justice to Lincoln it should be remembered that he wrote under personally irritating circumstances a personal letter intended for Schuyler and not for Congress. A more careful perusal of Lincoln's letter shows that it gives merely Stark's personal attitude; it was not intended to give and it did not give any indication of the reasons which led New Hampshire to give Stark his independent command. The cause of New Hampshire's action was not a private grievance, but a public necessity. To understand it we must turn from the personal grievance described by Lincoln to the facts testified to by Josiah Bartlett and now printed for the first time. Unfortunately it was upon Lincoln's letter that contemporary judgment of New Hampshire's action was based, and later writers have started from this false basis.⁶⁶ The impression which that letter made upon a New Hampshire delegate in Congress is shown in the following shrewd comments appended by George Frost to a copy of Lincoln's letter which he forwarded to the New Hampshire authorities.

"The foregoing letter was Sent by Gen.^l Lincoln to Gen.^l Schoyler and by P. Schoyler to Congress which is Very alarming to Congress that Gen.^l Starkes should take Occasion to Resent any Supposed Affrunt by Congress to him when his Country lays at Stake. at the same time would take notis that we shall loos the benifet of our troops being put in the Continentall pay Except the Measures are alterd, and woud also observe he don't refuse to put himselfe under Gen.^l Schoyler who is Recarled from that command and Congress has given the Command of that Armeey to Gen.^l Gates, w^{ch} I Suppose Ge.^l Starkes knew not of at that time. as to the promotion of Officers in the Armeey the Congress went on a new plan agreed on in Baltimore (at the Raising the as it Called Standing Armeey) that Every State Should in Some measure have their propotion of Gen.^l Officers

⁶⁶There is no contemporary evidence for attributing N. H.'s action to Stark's personal pique and his demand for an independent command on that ground. The earliest authority found for the ordinary story is in the inaccurate Ira Allen, written 21 years later. Almost every modern account repeats the story.

according to the Troops they Raised by which Reason som officers was superseded or as they call affronted."⁶⁶

Under the misleading impression derived from Lincoln's letter to Schuyler, Congress on the 19th of August, three days after Stark's independent instructions had enabled him to render effective aid "to the common cause," passed the following vote of censure, in complete ignorance of the victory at Bennington:

"Resolved, That a copy of general Lincoln's letter be forthwith transmitted to the council of New-Hampshire, and that they be informed, that the instructions which general Stark says he has received from them are destructive of military subordination and highly prejudicial to the common cause at this crisis; and therefore that they be desired to instruct general Stark to conform himself to the same rules which other general officers of the militia are subject to whenever they are called out at the expence of the United States."⁶⁷

In the debate on this resolution, the New Hampshire delegates defended her action, on the basis of reasons contained in a letter from Josiah Bartlett. "The militia of that State had lost all confidence in the General Officers who had the command at Tyconderoga . . . they would not turn out nor be commanded by such officers; the preservation of the lives of the inhabitants on our frontiers . . . made such orders at that critical time absolutely necessary; we were not about to justify General Stark for making a demand of rank in the army at that critical time, but we well knew he had a great deal to say for himself on that head, and had . . . distinguished himself, while others were advanced over his head. . . . We informed Congress that we had not the least doubt but the first battle they heard of from the North would be fought by Stark and the troops commanded by him. . . . Judge of our feelings, when the very next day we had a confirmation of what we had asserted by an express from General Schuyler giving an Account of the victory obtained by General Stark and the troops

⁶⁶Comment of Geo. Frost (N. H. delegate to Congress), appended to his copy of Lincoln's letter. In Gov. Josiah Bartlett's Correspondence, Vol. I, Dartmouth Coll. Lib.

⁶⁷Journals of Congress, III, 337-338.

under his command. We believe this circumstance only will make those easy who have been trying to raise a dust in Congress."⁶⁸

The vote of censure by Congress was certainly ill-timed; probably it would have never been proposed had Congress waited one day longer. On the 4th of October, Congress was better informed and passed a vote that was more generous and more just.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of Congress be presented to general Stark of the New-Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over, the enemy in their lines at Bennington; and that brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States."⁶⁹

The New Hampshire instructions to Stark were doubtless in theory "destructive of military subordination;" but "military subordination" had to yield to the more imperative necessity of a military force capable of "the preservation of the lives of the inhabitants on our frontiers." At that memorable three days session in July, 1777, the members of the New Hampshire General Court and of the Committee of Safety were confronted, not with a question of rank, but with the far more vital one of self-preservation. They knew that a brigade could not be raised in face of the universal loss of confidence in the generals of the Northern Department, and of the fear that any militia would be called to the "southward," away from the threatened frontier. They had been summoned in extra session not in response to calls for continental troops but to answer the cry of distress from their Vermont neighbors. They knew that men would volunteer

⁶⁸Nathl Folsom and Geo. Frost to N. H. authorities. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 663-664. The letter of Bartlett's was not the one of Sept. 22, quoted at the beginning of this article, but a letter written earlier, before Congress had taken any action. The letter states that "many illiberal reflections" were thrown out by "some of the southern Gentlemen;" and that on Aug. 21 a motion of Maryland to censure Stark was laid on the table "by a grate majority." Mr. Chase of Maryland was the only one to vote against the resolution of October 4, appointing Stark a Brigadier General (see Appendix A, No. 70). Two interesting letters of Jas. Lovell of Mass., and Whipple of N. H., are given in Appendix A, Nos. 59, 68.

⁶⁹Journals of Congress, III, 411.

In 1895, Congress adjourned to accept "Statues of John Stark and Daniel Webster presented by the State of N. H." See Appendix B, No. 67.

promptly to serve under Stark and that he was admirably fitted by nature and experience to manage such a volunteer militia unhampered by restrictions. They therefore left it to his discretion whether he should join with continental troops or not.

The peculiar instructions giving Stark an independent command seem admirably adapted to meet the peculiar exigencies of the situation. That they were so adapted is proven by the results which followed. Stark's independent command enabled him, first, to recruit a brigade of 1,492 officers and men in six days, and to move forward at once, knowing his volunteers would follow without hesitation; second, to insist on a flank attack, based on sound strategy; third, to reconvert Schuyler to this sound strategy; fourth, to co-operate with militia from Vermont and Massachusetts in retaining at Bennington a force sufficient to check Baum and win the battle of Bennington; and finally to restore confidence and then to march with victorious troops to Stillwater and Saratoga.

Without the independent command, the presence of Stark and his brigade at Bennington was an impossibility. Without Stark and his brigade, the victory at Bennington was impossible. Without Bennington, who can say what a difference there might have been at Saratoga? It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the importance of the Battle of Bennington; it has been recognized from that day to this by both American and British contestants and historians. It is enough to refer to Washington's estimate of what he called "the great stroke struck by Gen. Stark near Bennington;"⁷⁰ and to the judgment of the latest and most epigrammatic of the English historians of the Revolution: "Bennington . . . proved to be the turning point of the Saratoga campaign which was the turning point of the war."⁷¹ To one who examines carefully the records of that day or the judgments of this, Stark's independent command appears a turning point not only in a decisive battle, but also in a decisive campaign, and in an epoch-making movement. To the sober second thought of his

⁷⁰See letters of Washington showing his desire for and appreciation of the battle: Sparks, V, 1, 31, 42; Ford, V, 508, VI, 34.

⁷¹Trevelyan, *American Revolution*, Pt. II, Vol. II, 123-4.

day or of ours, Stark's independent command seems warranted by its deep-seated causes and justified by its far-reaching results.

We have followed the story of Stark's campaign as told by participants and contemporaries. It is a tale of swift preparation, strategic delay, and intrepid attack.

Stark "chose to command himself" the army which he had raised himself; but he felt he acted in accord with Schuyler, as well as in fulfilment of the terms of his independent command. The responsibility for granting that command must be shared by the public sentiment which demanded it, the General Court which voted it, and the general who accepted it. The credit for the sound judgment which led to the wise delay at Bennington must be given to Stark and the Vermont Council of Safety. The final accord in plans is due to the wise and eventually harmonious action of Schuyler of New York, and Lincoln of Massachusetts, as well as of Stark of New Hampshire and Warner of Vermont. Schuyler and Stark supplemented each other admirably both in personal characteristics and in manner of conducting a campaign; Lincoln helped to prevent a rupture between them; the Berkshire militia and Parson Allen were just in time for the fighting on which they insisted; Warner and the Vermont men and supplies and especially the timely reinforcements against Breyman were essential to both the campaign and the final engagement. The final result was so creditable that there was credit enough for all concerned. The plans and preparations of Schuyler and the Vermont Council were essential to Stark's opportunity; Stark's power to take advantage of that opportunity was due to his independent command.

Stark's independent command was in historic harmony with the unfortunate but inevitable conditions which he had to meet; with the task he had to perform; and with the characteristics of the man and his contemporaries. Personal independence and self-assertiveness were the distinguishing characteristics of the frontiersman and Indian fighter, and of his troops whom he so aptly described as "undisciplined freemen . . . men that had not learned the art of submission, nor had they been trained to the art of war."⁷² These were also the distinctive characteristics of the

⁷²Farmer and Moore's Collections, I, 113. See Appendix A, No. 78.

frontier life of colonial New Hampshire and Vermont, and of the period of the Revolution. The conditions which necessitated the independent command are much to be regretted; but so also are the conditions which necessitated the Revolution.

The Bennington campaign brings out sharply the strength and weakness of the Revolutionary era, when the newly born American nation was passionately devoted to the idea of liberty, but had not yet learned to understand and love the idea of union. It was in the next generation that a son of one of Stark's captains knit the two ideas together and kindled men's imaginations with the conception of "liberty and union."

In its illustration of the temper of the Revolution lies perhaps the chief value of this story, told by the men of that day, of their month of swift and triumphant campaign, from the 18th of July at Exeter when Speaker John Langdon gave his pledge and prophecy, to the 16th of August, when General John Stark fulfilled the prophecy and "checked Burgoyne."

APPENDIX A.

Calendar of Documents on Bennington Battle and Campaign, Chiefly Relating to Stark.¹

- I. LETTERS TO AND FROM STARK ALREADY PRINTED: CALENDAR BY HEADING, BRIEF SUMMARY, AND REFERENCE TO PRINTED VOL.
- II. LETTERS NOT IN PRINT: GIVEN IN FULL (WITH EXCEPTIONS NOTED).
- III. A FEW OTHER CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS SERVING TO EXPLAIN THE LETTERS OR MOVEMENTS OF STARK, SCHUYLER AND LINCOLN.

ALL THE DOCUMENTS ARE OF THE YEAR 1777, SAVE THE LAST TWO.

1. Feb. 19, Election of five major generals by Congress (Stirling, Mifflin, St. Clair, Stephen, Lincoln). Jour. Cong., III, 70.

2. Feb. 21-22, 1777, Election of Col. Poor of N. H. and nine other Colonels as Brigadier Generals by Congress. Jour. Cong., III., 73. (Stark was thus passed over for the third time. Compare Jo. Sullivan's recommendation of Stark for a Brigadier in letter to Jo. Adams, Mar. 19, 1776; Mass. H. S. Proc., 1875-6, p. 285 . . . "an old veteran, and has better pretensions than any other Col.^o in the Army, though by Down right Dint of Blunder, he was ranked below other Col.^{os} in the Army.")

¹It seemed wiser, largely for reasons of space, not to include in this Calendar documents by British or Germans; but they may be found by referring to the Bibliography in App. B. See in *List of Contemporary Writers*, Baum, Breyman, Brunswick Officer, Burgoyne, Durnford, Digby, Glich (?), Hadden, Riedesel, St. Leger, and the MSS. and books there indicated.

*3. Mar. 15. Ebenezer Thompson to Col. Wm. Whipple. Exeter. "Col Bartlett shew me your letter to him by which I find Col. Poor is advanced; which I am afraid will hurt our Troops: He is a good man, but by his promotion I suppose Col. Hale, a young man (and perhaps rather unequal) will be raised to the Command. Col. Stark will resign and leave his regiment to be commanded by Col. Cilley, whom you know. However, I hope for the best."

Sparks MS. Coll. 52, Vol. II, p. 173. (Harvard Library.) Ebenezer Thompson was one of the Councilors and member of the Comm. Safety of N. H. Wm. Whipple was delegate to Congress, Col. and later Brig.-Gen. of N. H. Militia.

4. Mar. 22. Stark "To the Hon^{ble} the Council and House of Representatives for the State of N. H." . . . "Am extremely greived that I am bound on Honour to leave the service, Congress, having tho't fit to promote Jun^r officers over my head" . . . N. H. State Papers, VIII, 518. Mem. of Stark, 42-43. "The Thanks of both houses was presented to Col. Stark" same day. State Papers, VIII, 519. Mem. Stark 43. On the "consequence of giving rank indiscriminately" and on "pride of rank where it ought to exist," see Washington to Congress, 19th July, 1777. Ford, Writings Washington, V, 497.

5. July 15. Schuyler To Col^o Simond (of the Militia of Massachusetts Bay). "Fort Edw^d . . . you will march four or five hundred men to aid Col Warner the remainder of the Militia to come this way— I am Sir Y^r Hble Serv^t Ph. Schuyler." N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. I (1879), 169. MS. in Schuyler's Orderly Book, Worcester, p. 43, No. 1852.

5a. July 15. Col. Philip Skene to the Earl of Dartmouth. Skenisborough . . . "Rebells Force are at Fort Edward . . . the men want confidence in their officers, and their Off^{rs} in their Men. the country come in fast to General Burgoyne's Manefesto." Stevens, Facsimiles, XVI, No. 1573.

6. July 16. Schuyler To Col^o Warner. Fort Edward. N. H. Militia to remain with Warner and not to join Schuyler. Quoted in full above p. 35. Vt. Hist. Soc., Coll. I, 187. N. Y.

Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 172. MS. copy in "Gen. Philip Schuyler's Orderly Book," Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

*7. July 16. Schuyler "To Col^o Scott. Fort Edward July 16, 1777. Sir You will order the militia of the State of New Hampshire to join you and if none are yet in motion you will send express to bring them on with all possible dispatch I am Sir Your most Ob^t Ph Schuyler." "Gen. Philip Schuyler's Orderly Book, Fort Edward, Albany, June 29 to August 18, 1777;" MS. in Am. Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass., p. 49, No. 1860.

*8. July 17. "General Orders Head Q^{rs} Saratoga July 17th 1777 All such of the Militia of the State of Massachusetts as have not yet marched or being marched are not yet arrived at Albany or on this side of it, to march to the support of Col^o Warner and put themselves under his command—He is in the vicinity of Bennington By order of Gen^l Schuyler John Lansing Jun.^r Secy." MS. in Schuyler's Orderly Book (Worcester), p. 55, No. 1870.

9. July 17. Cogan to Stark. Moses Creek. "There never was a field officer consulted . . . The blame of our retreat [after Ticonderoga] must fall on our Commanders." N. H. State Papers VIII, 640-1.

10. July 18. Election of Stark by N. H. General Court at Exeter, as Brigadier General "amenable . . . to the General Court or Committee of Safety." N. H. State Papers, VIII, 635.

11. July 19. M. Weare to Brig^d Gen^l Jn^o Stark. Instructions "to act in conjunction . . . or separately, as it shall appear expedient to you." Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 188-9. Gov. and Council Vt., I, 133. Quoted in full above, p. 16.

*12. July 19. "To the commanding officers of the Militia of the State of New Hampshire, Fort Edward, July 19th, 1777. Gentlemen Colo: Warner having advised me that he has Intelligence that a considerable Body of the Enemy will attempt to penetrate to Bennington, this Information induces me again to entreat you to hasten your March to join him, agreeable to my former Request Let me entreat you to make no Delay—Vigorous Exertions on our part will certainly frustrate the Enemy's

Intentions and secure the Country in spite of every Effort they can make to reduce it. I am &c Ph Schuyler." MS. in Schuyler's Orderly Book (Worcester), p. 63, No. 1883.

13. July 24. Warner to Stark, Manchester [Vt.]. Enclosing letter from Schuyler. Enemy preparing for "movement toward this camp." Mem. and Corr. Stark, 121-2.

14. July 24. Schuyler to Congress. "Moses Creek 4 miles below Ft. Edward". N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., I (1879), 177. (do. to N. Y. Comm. Safety, extract, and to Mass. Council Safety; both in Mass. Archives, Vol. 197, pp. 335, 337.)

15. July 28. Col. Wm. Williams to Gen. Stark, Manchester [Vt.]. "Last evening Rec^d your favor of the 25th Inst, am very glad to hear of Relief from you." Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 192. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 648.

*16. July 29. Schuyler "*To Colonel Warner*. Saratoga July 29th 177 (sic) Sir Yours of Yesterday's I received this Day—If the Enemy have entirely left Castletown they have probably joined General Burgoyne who is advancing towards us, and I believe is now at Fort Edward. I am sorry to hear you have so few—Militia with you—I hope the Body under General Stark will be respectable. General Lincoln, who is the Bearer of this is to take the Command on the Grants. His great good sense: his Bravery: his Activity and his Influence in the Massachusetts, I hope will soon draw a very respectable Body of Troops together and that he will be able to make a powerful Diversion. I am &c P[hilip] S[chuyler]." MS. in Schuyler's Orderly Book (Worcester), p. 69, No. 1893.

17. July 30. Instructions to Col. Folsom, for Gen. Stark, to appoint necessary officers. Inquiries regarding supplies. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 650.

18. July 30. Stark to the N. H. Comm. of Safety, Charlestown, No. 4. Replies to letter of 22^d. 250 men forwarded on the 28th, and another detachment this day. Requests Kettles, ammunition, and Rum. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 650-1. Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 193.

19. July 31. Schuyler to Lincoln, Saratoga. Lincoln to

command troops at Manchester, Vt. Sparks MS., X, 283 (Harvard Library). N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., I (1879), 182. Sparks, *Corr. Am. Rev.*, II, 516.

*20. Aug. 1. Schuyler "To Capt. M.^cCrackin. Saratoga, Aug.st 1st. 1777. Sir Major General Lincoln is on his way to take the Command of the Troops on the Grants, to his orders you will—therefore pay proper attention. You will maintain your post until you receive orders to abandon it, unless you should have certain Intelligence of the approach of a Body of Enemy with whom you cannot cope. In the latter Case you will retreat by the way of Cambridge and join the army under my immediate Command, bringing off all the Cattle you can possibly collect as also all the Carriages—Such Carriages and Cattle as cannot be carried off must be effectually destroyed. Scouts should be kept out constantly towards the Enemy, that you may be apprised of their Movements: receive early Information of their Approach and guard against a Surprise. I am &c. P. Schuyler." MS. in Schuyler's *Orderly Book* (Worcester), p. 72, No. 1898.

21. Aug. 1. Schuyler to Van Cortlandt (Pres. N. Y. Council Safety), Saratoga. "I have not yet been able to find a spot that has the least prospect of answering the purpose [to encamp, and check the enemy] and I believe you will soon learn that we are retired still further south." Sparks MSS., Vol. XXIX, p. 205 (Harvard Library). Lossing, *Schuyler*, II, 256.

22. Aug. 2. Stark to N. H. Comm. Safety. Charlestown. Reply to "favour by Col. Folsom" of Aug. 30. "I purpose to set out for Manchester tomorrow." N. H. State Papers, VIII, 654.

23. Aug. 2. Stark to the Selectmen of Charlestown. Charlestown. "Please to procure . . . Barracks and Cooking Utensils" for troops remaining at Charlestown. N. H. State Papers, XV (Rev. Rolls, Vol. 2), 231.

24. Aug. 2. N. H. Comm. Safety to Stark. Replying to Stark's letter of Aug. 30. No kettles. "Rum is not to be bought in this State." N. H. State Papers, VIII, 655. Cf. *Rec. Comm. Safety*, N. H. H. S. Coll., VII, 109-110; a man was sent same day to Newbury for kettles.

25. Aug. 3. Stark to Doc^r Solomon Chase. "Chiruregeon

to Colo. Hobart's Regiment". "H. Quar^s C:Town, Aug^t 3^d 1777. " . . . take under your care all the sick . . . receive medicines . . . send me an account of . . . sick." N. H. State Papers, XVII, 144.

26. Aug. 3. Stark to Rev. Mr. Hibbard. Charles Town No 4 Appointed chaplain and requested to "come without delay" to Manchester. N. H. State Papers, XV, 230.

27. Aug. 4. Schuyler to Washington. Stillwater. "Our continental force is decreasing . . . and not a man of the militia, now with me, will remain above one week longer. . . ." Sparks, Corr. Amer. Rev., I, 419-420.

*28. Aug. 4. Schuyler to Lincoln. (Extract.) "Stillwater, August 4, 1777." "The General officers having unanimously advised me to remove the Army to this place, we marched from Saratoga yesterday afternoon and reached here last night. . . . Gen. Burgoyne has his Headquarters at Fort Edward & is making every exertion to move down as his whole Force is undoubtedly with him and that in all probability he has left nothing at Skenesborough, except what is so covered that it is not probable that your moving that way without artillery would give him any Alarm. I must desire you to march your whole Force, except Warner's Regiment and join me with all possible Dispatch. . . ." Above extract from signed letter appeared in C. F. Libbie's Sale Catalogue, of Nov. 14, 15, 1888, Boston; present owner unknown. Sparks MS., X, 287. (Cf. Glover's account in letter from Stillwater, Aug. 6, to Jas. Warren in Sparks MSS., Vol. XLVII.)

*29. Aug. 5. "Nath^l Folsom" "to Co.^l Josiah Bartlett, Esq.^r Philadelphia. (Extract.) . . . "the loss of Ticonderoga has giuen grate uneasyness: General Schyler and Sant Caire aire ordered to head Qurters in order for an inquirey into thaire Conduct: the other Generals that Sat in Counsell aire to Stay at thaire Departments till General Washington thinks they Can be Recald without hurting the Seruice. General Gates is ordered to take the Comemand in the northern Department Congress have Past a Resolve that Newhampshire Massachusetts Connecticut new iersey and new york and Pennsylvania: Raise & march as many of the militia to Serue in the northern Depart-

ment till the fifteenth of nouember as General Gates Shall think Suffisient for the Defence of that Part of the Cuntrey. . . .” Autograph letter signed, in Gov. Bartlett’s Corr., Dartmouth College Library.

30. Aug. 5. Meshech Weare to N. Y. Council Safety. Exeter. “Loss of Ticonderoga . . . has occasioned loss of all confidence . . . in general officers of that department.” By Aug. 2, Stark had sent 700 men and planned to follow next day with 300 more. This letter contains facts not given in any printed letters from Stark. Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 194.

31. Aug. 6. Stark to Col. Hunt. Bromley [Peru], Vt. Regarding cannon and carriages, rum and sugar. Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 195.

*32. Aug. 6. Lincoln to Stark. Manchester. “Sir, I should be very happy to see you this afternoon. I received a letter from Gen.^l Schuyler last night, the contents of which I wish to communicate to you. I hope the remainder of your troops will soon be in. I am &c. B. Lincoln.” Sparks MSS. (Harv. Lib.), X, 288.

*33. Aug. 6. John Sergeant (missionary among the Stockbridge Indians) to “Doct. Wheelock” (Pres. Dartmouth College). Stockbridge, Mass. “Am sorry to have any of our Indians ingage during the war . . . hope pray & wish your people would flock in by thousand, join Col. Warner, who commands on the Grants and cut off their [enemy’s] retreat. Understand your people have a ill opinion of Gen.^l Schiler. I sincerely believe him to be a good man in the camp—politically virtuous—& a brave general. . . . A few among us live to God. . . . N. B. Am obliged to work every day—no help but Indians.” Wheelock Manuscripts, Dartmouth College Library.

34. Aug. 6. Capt. Peter Clark (of Lyndeboro, N. H.) to his wife. Manchester (Vt.). “We have orders to march to Bennington . . . and from thence . . . for Albany.”

August 7, 1777. “Stark . . . in town.” “Stark chooses to command, himself.” N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg., XIV (1860), 122-3.

35. Aug. 7. Stark to N. H. Comm. Safety. This letter could not be found by the Editor of the State Papers in 1874. It may possibly exist among private papers left by Meshech Weare

or Josiah Bartlett, or among unassorted papers at Exeter (possibly astray among records in County offices?). Any suggestions as to the possible existence of so valuable a letter would be gladly received by the writers who have sought for it in vain, in public and private archives. Its tenor can be gathered from the reply. See No. 44.

36. Aug. 7. was "appointed to be observed as a day of Public Fasting, Humiliation & Prayer." Vote of N. H. Gen. Court, July 19. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 638.

37. Aug. 8. Gen. Lincoln to Gen. Schuyler. Bennington. Stark's arrival, his instructions from N. H., and his attitude. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 662. Lossing, *Life of Schuyler*, II, 263. MS. copy with MS. endorsement, apparently by Geo. Frost, N. H. delegate to Congress, in Josiah Bartlett's Correspondence. Vol. I, Dartmouth Coll. Library. Quoted above pp. 52.

38. Aug. 8. Schuyler to Lincoln. Albany. "The enemy point their force down Hudson River." Mass. and N. H. militia to follow Lincoln to the Hudson. Mem. and Corr. Stark, 125.

*39. B. Lincoln to General Starks. "Bennington, August 9th 1777 8 o'clock. Sir, Enclosed is the copy of a letter, I this moment received from General Schuyler. I can only subjoin my entreaties to his, that you will not now, when every exertion for the common safety is necessary, suffer any consideration to prevent your affording him all the succour in your power. I am dear Sir, &c B. Lincoln." Sparks MSS. Vol. X, p. 290.

*40. Aug. 9. Schuyler to Mr. P. Spooners (Dep. Sec. Vt. Comm. Safety). "Albany Aug^t 9th 1777 Sir Last night I received your Letters of the 7th Instant.—As General Burgoyne has withdrawn every Detachment he had in the Grants; As his whole force is pointed this way; as he is already so far advanced as Saratoga with part of his Army, There is no great probability that force will be sent your way untill he shall have taken possession of this City which he will certainly do if every body remains at home under one pretext or another, and then Fort Schuyler which is besieged, must Doubtless fall into the Enemies hands. Such an Acquisition of forces as this will give him will render the whole Country however wide extended an

easy Conquest,—It behoves every man therefore to come forth to join the Army, and try to repulse the Enemy, and I most earnestly intreat they will do it without a moments delay— If General Burgoyne is obliged to retreat every family will be safe— The Stores at Bennington should be removed if it can be done without preventing the Militia from coming to join us but not otherwise, for what value are these stores If the country is lost I am Sir Your hum: Serv^t Ph. Schuyler” MS. in Schuyler’s Orderly Book (Worcester), p. 32.

41. Aug. 10. B. Lincoln to the Council of Massachusetts. (Extract) Bennington. Complains that a number of soldiers of Col. Cushing’s regiment have left for home because the enemy have left the Grants. Sparks, Corr. Amer. Rev., II, 516-517. Sparks MS., Vol. X, p. 291.

42 Aug. 12. Lincoln to Washington. Stillwater. Describes the “design to fall into the rear of Burgoyne.” Describes Lincoln’s movement since arrival at Manchester, Vt., Aug. 2, but gives no intimation of difficulty with Stark. Sparks, Corr. Am. Rev., I. 423.

*43. Aug. 12. “To Colonel Warner. Stillwater Augst 12th 1777 *Secret* Sir A movement is intended from hence with part of the Army to fall in the Enemy’s Rear—You will therefore march your Regiment and such of the Militia and ranging Companies as you can speedily collect to the Northern part of Cambridge District in this State where the Troops from hence will be there to Join you, so as to be there on the 18th Instant at farthest— It will be necessary that you drive fat Cattle with you for the subsistence of your Men and twenty more for the troops that go from this place” . . . (Rest of letter concerns what stores Warner shall take with him.) MS. in Schuyler’s Orderly Book (Worcester), p. 79, No. 1908.

44. Aug. 12. “Instructions from Committee of Safety to Gen. Stark.” In reply to Stark’s lost letter of 7th Aug., “the Committee (who) are much distressed least misunderstandings, distrusts, & disputes among ourselves should ruin the country. Your directions from the Committee were in a considerable degree left discretionary to yourself & must still remain so . . .

Printed Rules & articles for governing the Continental Troops, which are to be the rule for yours, I send by this opportunity" . . . N. H. State Papers, VIII, 662-3.

*45. Aug. 12. "Nathaniel Folsom to Josiah Bartlett. Philadelphia agust the 12th 1777 Dear Sir I Rec^d your Kind feavouer of the first Instant in which you have Represented the Effect and Consequences that have taken Place, with the People at Large by the Loss of that important Fortrise tyconderoga—and I find them the Same. that wase Expected by all the Newengland Dellegates. and mad use of in thair arguments in Congress for the Recalling of the Generals Schyler & Sa.^t Clare and for an inquiry in to thaire Conduct for thre Days together abought Eighteen Days agoe, which was most violently opposed by the New York & some of the Southern members.—but at last carried by a Large majority and a Committee appointed in Congress to Report the mode of inquiry. General Gates is appointed to take command in the Northern Department and went off last Thursday . . ." (Rest of letter relates to foreign affairs.) Autograph letter signed, Josiah Bartlett's Correspondence, Vol. I, Dartmouth College Library.

*46. Aug. 13. Schuyler "To Gen. Lincoln. Stillwater, Aug. 13th 1777. . . . you will please to take Command of the Troops that are now on the way from Bennington and march them to the East Side of Hudson's River to the northern parts of Cambridge, where Col. Warner has orders to join you. Should you on your arrival at that place find it practicable, by coup de main, to make an Impression on any Post the Enemy may occupy, you will, if there is a prospect of success, make the Attempt . . ." C. F. Libbie (Boston), Catalogue of Sale of May 25 & 26, 1888; present owner unknown.

47. Aug. 14. Lincoln to Stark. Half Moon. ". . . Glad you detained the troops at Bennington . . . Our plan is adopted." Mem. and Corr. of Stark, 126.

*48. Aug. 15. Schuyler to Lincoln. "Fort's Five Miles below Stillwater August 15th 1777. Dear Sir, I have expected Major Claiborne here that I might transmit you Copy of General Stark's Letter to me—As he is not come, I send it you by Ex-

press—You will see his Determination & regulate yourself accordingly—It will be best to cross the River about a Mile below this where there will be Batteaus for the purpose and where, what Carriages may be necessary can also ford.

I find General Gates is on his Way up to take the Command in this Department—Should he reach you before you march you will communicate to him the Business you are going upon; the orders he may have may make it necessary either to alter your Rout or perhaps entirely desist from the Enterprise. I am D Sir very sincerely your most obedient hble Servant Ph. Schuyler Honble General Lincoln.” From MS. in his possession, kindly made available by Mr. Samuel T. Crosby, Hingham, Mass. Grateful acknowledgement is also made to Mr. Robert M. Fullerton for securing and copying this and No. 73. Stark’s letter to Schuyler is greatly to be desired, but cannot now be found.

*49. Aug. 16. (Extract) Schuyler to Artemas Ward, Pres. of the Council of Mass. “Forts Five Miles below Stillwater August 16th 1777 5 o’clock afternoon” . . . “That General Lincoln is at Manchester by General Washington’s order is a Mistake— He was at ten this Morning at Half Moon with some Militia from your State; and is by my orders,—going to join General Stark and try to make a Diversion and draw off the Attention of the Enemy by marching to the Northern parts of Cambridge Vt. agreeable to a unanimous Resolution of a Council of General Officers. I did say Sir and I do again repeat ‘that the little army under my Command is obliged to retire before the Enemy neglected and unsupported, by those whose Duty as well as Interest it is to prevent the Enemy from taking possession of this State.’ For from the State of Massachusetts we have not now five hundred Militia, if so many—part of those that came to the Grants having deserted, as General Lincoln informs me:—from Connecticut not one—From the State of New Hampshire with General Stark, who is now on the Grants, perhaps seven or eight hundred, probably less, and there by orders of the State of New Hampshire to General Stark, as General Lincoln informs me, at Liberty to join the Continental Troops or not: but happily I have Assurances from General Stark that he will not hesitate

to do what is required:—from the State of New York under one hundred—If this Account is just, and such I can easily prove it to be, who will say that we are *not neglected* and unsupported If the Council had ordered three thousand men to join the Army here: and they had come, it would I believe, be as many, if not more than I had asked from your State: but if they are ordered to Manchester I cannot well see, how they will be sufficient 'to stop the rapid progress of the Enemy who are pointing their whole force this way . . .'" Mass. Archives, Vol. 198, p. 44.

50. Aug. 16. Jonathan Trumbull Jr. to Jonathan Trumbull. Albany. "Gen^l Burgoyne we hear is mak^g an expedition eastward, to Bennington [Aug.] 17th . . . hourly expectations of some important event turn^g up in the Grants; some skirmish^g has happened . . . Gen. Lincoln is moved this day, with about 5 or 600 from our little army to fall in & cooperate with Starks . . ." Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 7th Ser., II (1902), 116, 119.

51. Aug. 16. Jonas Fay (V. Pres. Council Safety, Vt.) to Militia Commanders. Bennington. Requesting reinforcements for second part of Battle of Bennington. N. H. St. Papers, VIII, 669.

*52. Aug. 18. Schuyler "*To Colonel Brewer*. Van Schaick's Island August 18th. 1777. Sir You will take in Charge a—Medicine Chest and Quantity of Ammunition which General Patterson will deliver you and proceed therewith without a Moments Delay to Bennington and join General Lincoln. As there is a Body of Enemy in that Quarter, you will keep small parties five or six Miles advanced to give you Intimation of their approach lest you should fall in with a superior Force & be surprised I am &c. Ph: Schuyler." MS. in Schuyler's Orderly Book (Worcester).

53. Aug. 18. Stark to N. H. Authorities. Bennington. Account of the battle of Bennington and movements, Aug. 8-16. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 670-1. Mem. & Corr. Stark, 126-8.

54. Aug. 18. Stark to N. H. Council and House of Representatives. "Presents . . . compliments . . . & trophies of the memorable Battle . . . at Walloomscook." Stark called it "Battle of Bennington" in two letters written in 1778 in behalf of two

of his soldiers. N. H. State Papers XVI (Rev. Rolls, Vol. 3), 419, 424. In his dispatches of Aug. 18 and 22 describing the battle he gives it no name. See note 50 above.

55. Aug. 18. Peter Clark to his wife. Bennington. Account of movements Aug. 7-16, and of battle. New Eng. Hist. & Geneal. Reg. XIV (1860), 122.

56. Aug. 18. Benjamin Lincoln to Philip Schuyler. Bennington. "The late signal success of a body of about 2000 troops, mostly militia under the command of Brigadier General Stark, in this part of the country, on the 16th instant, over a party of about fifteen hundred of the enemy who came out with a manifest design to possess themselves of this town (as will appear by the enclosed), is an event happy and important." Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 7th Ser., II, 120.

57. Aug. 18. Lincoln to Mass. Council. Bennington. Account of battle. "The enemy had . . . perhaps 1500. Was on my return [from Stillwater] when the action happened." Mem. and Corr. Stark, 132-3.

58. Aug. 18. Schuyler to John Hancock, Pres. Congress. Van Schaick's Island. "I have the honor to Congratulate Congress on a signal victory obtained by Gen. Stark." Encloses Lincoln's account and copy of Burgoyne's Instructions to Baum. Mem. & Corr. Stark, 129.

*59. Aug. 18. James Lovell to William Whipple. "August 18, 1777. . . . P.S. In the name of the Union what orders have you given Stark? he had better have tarried at home than have marched so far as he has, to refuse Continental Regulations. He knew them before he set out. Maryland will not let her Militia be under Continental Articles of War. But then she does not send her men out of the State still this is consented to—*secret*—and scandalous I do not know the merit of Stark's case, but he makes great confusion." Sparks MSS., Vol. LII, Bk. II, p. 194 (Harvard Lib.) . Lovell was Mass. delegate in Congress.

60. Aug. 19. Resolutions of Congress censuring action of N. H. in giving Stark independent command. Journals of Congress, III, 411-12. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 663.

61. Aug. 19. Stark to N. H. authorities. Bennington. Announces receipt of letter from Gates at Albany who is in command instead of Schuyler and Sinclair, who are sent for to Headquarters. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 672. Stark therefore sent his account of Aug. 22 to Gates, and not Schuyler.

*62. Aug. 20. Lincoln to Gates. Bennington. Lincoln appears to be acting harmoniously with Stark. Sparks MSS., Vol. VIII, p. 104.

63. Aug. 22. Washington to Major-Gen. Putnam. (Extract). " . . . As there is not now the least danger of General Howe's going to New England, I hope the whole force of that country will turn out, and, by following the great stroke struck by Gen. Stark near Bennington, entirely crush Gen. Burgoyne, who by his letter to Col. Baum seems to be in want of almost everything. . . ." Sparks Writings of Washington, V, 42.

64. Aug. 22. Nath^l Folsom and Geo: Frost (N. H. delegates in Congress) to the N. H. authorities. Philadelphia. Relating to Congressional note of censure; and giving their defence of N. H. & Stark. N. H. State Papers, VIII, 663-4.

65. Aug. 22. Copy of a Handbill issued at "Boston (12 o'clock) Friday, August 22, 1777." Contains Lincoln's letter of Aug. 18 to Council; and account of the messenger, Captain Barnes. Barnes reported: "about 1600 militia . . . under Stark . . . 150 continental troops, under Colonel Warner . . . enemy about 1500, their reinforcement 1000 . . ." "Captain Barnes says that, after the first action, General Stark ordered a hogshhead of rum for the refreshment of the militia; but so eager were they to attack the enemy, upon their being reinforced, that they tarried not to taste it, but rushed on the enemy with an ardor perhaps unparalleled." Mem. and Corr. Stark, 132-135.

66. Aug. 22 or 23. Stark to Gates. Bennington. Account of battle. Mem. & Corr. Stark, 129-132, "Copied from General Stark's first Draft," and dated Aug. 23. A somewhat different draft and dated Aug. 22 is in Sparks MSS. (Harv. Lib.) Vol. III, p. 482; and in Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 206-207.

67. Aug. 23. N. H. Comm. Safety "to Josiah Bartlett & Nath^l Peabody." "To repair to Bennington, assist the sick and

wounded . . . and consult with and advise General Stark." N. H. State Papers, VIII, 672.

*68. Aug. 25. "William Whipple to J. Lovell. Portsmth 25th Aug^t 1777 Before I say a word of your letter which I received by Bass late last evening, I must congratulate you heartily on the glorious victory gained by our poor despised Militia, over a division of Burgoyne's invincible army, that army who were sweeping before them with the besom of destruction, Our Veteran Army with our Veteran General at the head ? ? ? but somebody will undertake to call this a *Military Check*; two or three more such military checks will make Mr. Burgoine sick of his Elbow Room; Have they had a knock yet at Stillwater? I hope that wont come till a certain letter writer get to a place of safety: for I think it would be a pity he should be discomposed lest he should be seized with a fit of the rheumatism, or a certain eruptive disorder that the Gentⁿ is subject to on certain occasions: this would produce such a fit of letter writing that much paper would be wasted, as well as much precious time in a certain room, reading those precious performances: but as I hear, Gates was at Fisk Hill the 13th. I hope he will be in season to save the good man much trouble. . . ." Sparks MSS., Harvard Library.

69. Various messages of congratulations to Stark:

Undated (Aug. 23? cf. above No. 65.) N. H. Comm. Safety. Stark, Mem. and Corr., 135.

Aug. 19. Schuyler. Vanschaik, *ibid.*, 136.

Sept. 6, and 20. Vt. Comm. Safety, *ibid.*, 137, 138.

Oct 4. Congress, Oct. 4, *ibid.*, 140 (Jour. Cong., III, 411).

Dec. 4-5 Mass. Legislature, *ibid.*, 140-1.

70. Oct. 4. "Thanks of Congress . . . for . . . victory at Benington; and that Stark be appointed Brigadier General in the army of the United States. In passing the last clause, the yeas and nays were required and taken." Mr. Chase of Maryland was the only one to vote no. No votes are recorded for R. I., N. J., and Del. (North Carolina is incorrectly reprinted in place of So. Car.) Jour. Cong. III, 411-12.

*71. (In facsimile but none in print.) Aug. 30. Colonel Philip Skene to the Earl of Dartmouth. "Camp at Saratoga the 30th of Aug^t 1777 My Lord On the 10th Ins^t by the Request of General Burgoyne, I sett out with L^t Col Baum to try the affections of the Country, to disconcert the councils of the Enemy, to Mount a Reg^t of Riedhesils Dragoons, and to procure a large Supply of Horses, Cattle, and Carriages for the Army;—on the 10th of Aug^t I attended Lt. Col Baums detachment, Consisting of Reidesels Dragoons (not mounted) Cap^t Frasers Camp, Provincials, Canadian and Indians, to the Amount of 556; we Marched from the side of Fort Miller, to the South Side of Botten Kill, from thence to Cambridge, to Sancoick and Wollumscoock: at that part where the road Crossed the River and a Bridge now is, there Lt Col Baum halted: as some Rebels appeared on the road to Benington. & he was informed that the Rebels were about 2000 Militia, this induced him to send for a reinforcement, which consisted of the Light troops, and Granadiers of the Left Wing of Germans; under the command of L^t Col Brymen; about 11 o'clock at Night on the 15th, an Express Arrived with an Account that the reinforcement was within 14 Miles. I immediately sent off Carriages and Horses to help them on, and on the morning of the 16th sett off to bring them up; about 4 oClock in the afternoon, Major Bernar came up; about this time, a Volunteer of the Provincials came in, and said L^t Baums party was cut off, I own I wanted faith to believe him, especially when Capt Campbell arrived and said he believed things were not so bad, that he with a party of Indians, was ordered to Attack the Rebels in their Rear but having got between two fires; he got of, with the Indians he had with him; L^t Col Brymen then asked me if I would March on with him, I answered Yes, and put myself at the head of the party; he ordered Six Chesseurs in front as an Advance Guard, and Advanced himself: when we marched about 1000 Yards, I saw the Rebels at the end of a Worms fence extending to the Eastward, while we were Marching on the road due South; I was in doubt whether they were Rebels, or Loyalists, as they had the same Signals of white feathers, or paper in their hats, however to be Certain I Galloped up to them, at the Distance of 100 Yards and desired them to halt; some did—. I then

asked them if they were for King George, they immediately presented and fired Confusedly, hit my horse but Missed me. The Chesseurs advanced near Enough to Return their fire and begin the Action, Major Bernar immediately took to the Side of the Hill on our left Flank and rushed the Enemy so Close, that they retreated before him— L^t Col Brymen allways advanced in front to shew his men an Example unluckily the Granadiers did not Close with the Enemy, but continued flinging away their Ammunition at too great a Distance; the Canon two Six pounders, advanced within point Blank Grape shot & continued firing for an hour and a half and the Enemy continually retreated for about two Miles, the Country was pretty open on our Right with a River near our flank; on the left was an Easy Hill of Ascent thinly Wooded, Victory was at our Command had the Granadiers been Quick on their March; and not Wasted their Ammunition at to great a Distance, which they wanted when the Sun was Setting; and I endeavored to supply by Galloping to the Ammunition Cart, which I brought up untill I found them retreating; As Col Brymen was not with them, I rallied and took the Liberty of halting them, at the Mills of Sancoick, L^t Col Brymen was the last man of his party that Arrived in the Night, it was my duty as Commissioner of Supplies to provide Carriages, which I did, and brought the Wounded, and Baggage even to knapsacks, We retreated to Cambridge there till day light, and then Marched to Saratoga, without hearing of any of the Enemy, that we were informed had retreated during the Night to Bennington; it is Certain that the Enemy lost a great many men and some of their most forward Officers, and that they have not Advanced any party since. Unluckily at the time L^t Col Baum Advanced, the whole Militia that the Rebels could raise in the Gov^t of New England, from Massachusetts Bay, were at, or on their March to Bennington, which they look upon, as the Grand pass into New England; the post Baum took was not a bad one, I was behind on some business when he halted and took it; two days before the last Attack he made a Disposition that Covered his ground to the best Advantage but I find that he detached from his party, and therefore weakened his post, that should have been on the diffensive untill the reinforcement arrived; I

had no Military Command but shall have my share of censure for what should be as well as what was not, some blame is laid on the Inhabitants being Spies and without doubt they are, but General Burgoyne has held out a Manifesto inviting the Inhabitants to return to their duty, and take the Oath of Allegiance which brings in Many and I am well Satisfied his Humanity will Conquer more than the Sword, his mind is unalterably good; the Savages do little Service but from the Idea of their Cruelty; they have had their talk and are mostly gone; indeed, was their Example followed of Marauding the Army scouts [would?] be debauched from their discipline, General Burgoyne has been Unluckily Circumstanced, not hearing from General Howe or any Army on the North River to open the Communication, and the Want of Carriages to transport his provisions, Ammunition, Artillery and necessarys for the Army is incredible, and we cannot move without thirty days provision at least with us, for so soon as we move, our rear will be occupied by the Rebels to Lake George, if St Leger is retreated from Fort Stanwix as I hear; however nothing will be Wanting to guard against the Worst that may happen; Schuyler is sent for to the Congress with Sinclair jealousy is a good deal spread amongst the Rebels, this Army is in good Health and Spirits. you will please pardon the hurry and uncorrectness I write this with in the open Air and believe that I am with the Highest Sense of Gratitude My Grateful respects to Lord North Your Lordships Most obedient humble and obliged Servant Philip Skene. Lord Dartmouth." Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth. B F. Stevens, Facsimiles, Vol. XVIII, no. 1665.

Hadden in his Journal wrote: Skene "acted like a — Showing his powers, to every Man who pretended to be friendly." p. 132; cf. 513-514.

72. Sept. 8. Gates to Lincoln. (Extract.) "Manchester, September 8, 1777. Dear General, On my return from Head Quarters, I mentioned to General Starks that he was to take the command of one thousand troops, and move towards the river. He appeared to be perfectly satisfied. I asked for a return of his men, and found that he had lost little more than

seven hundred, etc . . . I am, &c, B. Lincoln." Sparks, MSS. (Harv. Lib.), Vol. VIII, p. 104.

*73. Sept. 10. Gates to Lincoln. "Still Water 10th September, 1777. Dear General, Your Letter of the 8th Instant dated from Manchester, one O'Clock in the Morning is now before me. I am astonished at my Friend Starks hesitating to perform what he had previously, and with entire approbation, consented to execute; The Post I wished him to occupy, is not more than half Cannon Shot from the Right of this Army, and by twelve at Noon, I shall have a good Bridge of Communication furnished across the River— Inclosed is my letter to him upon the Subject, after reading it, I think he will not delay one Moment to march to that Ground— The Ammunition you demanded went yesterday from New City, your want of it, was owing to your assuring me you had received Plenty from Springfield— I desire you will not fail, frequently to acquaint me, with your Movements, and as far as is prudent with your Designs. I am Dear General, Your Affectionate Humble Servant Horatio Gates. P. S. I desire you will Seal and forward the Inclosed. The Honble Major General Lincoln." MS. in his possession kindly made available by Mr. Samuel T. Crosby, Hingham, Mass.

74. Stark's offer of \$20 reward for his "Brown Mare . . . Stole from me . . . from Wallumscoick in the time of action the 16th of August." Conn. Courant No. 665, p. 4; quoted in J. D. Butler's Address.

75. Sept. 16. Journal of Henry Dearborn. "Beemes Hights . . . Genl. Stark Joined us to Day with his Brigade from Bennington." Mass Hist. Soc. Proc., 2d Ser., III, 105.

*76. (Copy.) Josiah Bartlett to Wm. Whipple. "Kingstown September 22nd 1777 My Dear Sir The Time for which our militia under General Starks was raised being nearly Expired, The Committee of Safety have raised one Sixth part of the Six Lower Regiments and they are now on their march to reinforce the army in the Grants, and they are Directed to put themselves under the Command of the Continental General nearest Bennington, unless Gen: Starks will tarry & take the

Command of them, and in that case Gen: Starks is directed to be under the command of Such Continental Gen^l: By the Conversation I had with him at Benington and letters he has Sent the State I fear he will not tarry: I am much Surprized to hear the uneasiness Expres^d by the Congress at the orders given him, by this State; I think it must certainly be owing to their not Knowing our Situation at that time, The Enemy appeared to be moving down to our frontiers and no men to oppose them but the militia and Col: Warners Regiment not Exceeding 150 men, and it was imposible to raise the militia to be under the Command of Gen^{ls} in whom they had no Confidence, and who might immediately call them to the Southward and leave their wives and families a prey to the Enemy: and had Gen^l Starks gone to Stillwater agreeable to orders; there would have been none to oppose Col Baum in carrying Gen.^l Burgoynes orders into Execution: No State wishes more Earnestly to keep up the union than New Hamshire, but Surely Every State has a right to raise their militia for their own Defence against the Common Enemy and to put them under such Command as they shall think proper without giving just cause of uneasiness to the Congress. As to the State giving such orders to Gen^l Starks, because he had not the rank he thought himself intitled to, (which seems to be intimated) I can assure you is without foundation and I believe never entered the mind of any of the Committee of Safety who gave the orders: however I hope by this time the Congress are convinced of the upright intentions of the State and the propriety of their Conduct. Cap^t Thornton of Thornton in this State was taken prisoner at Bennington in the Enemys line and is now in Exeter Gaol. I have no news to write you; by the accounts from the Northward & Southward we are hourly in Expectation of receiving very important news: I pray God it may be Good & Such as will Serve to relieve us from many of our Difficulties. The Geneareal Court is now Seting at Portsmouth and have under Consideration the report of the Committee at Springfield which I believe will be agreed to I hope the Congress will take Some measures to keep up the Credit of the Currency or otherways I fear it will soon loose

all credit to the utter ruin of the best of Causes." Gov. Bartlett's Correspondence, Vol. I, Dartmouth College Library.

*77. Jan 2, 1778. (Extract.) Nathaniel Folsom to Josiah Bartlett. "Yorktown Jeneuary 2.^d 1778—DearSire yesterday I Rec.^d your Feavour of Decmber the 12.th. as to the Resolutions of Congress you first mentioned. So far as it Relates to New Hampshier or general Stark, it was Strenously opposed by your Delegates in Congress. and Six Days did not Pass before they were Convinced of the good Effect of the orders of your Court given to general Stark and euery mouth was Stopt. which gave your Delegates no Small triumph, to be told we ware true Prophets. and ever Since the State of Newhampshier has been in grate Repute, on account of the Spirited Exertions of the officers & Soldiers in the northern Department . . . I . . . constantly opposed the makeng all most all the general officers that haue been made since I haue been here. it appearing to me they were made more upon the Principle of Intrest or frindship. then Justice or ecquity. and the Consequencies that haue followed has Confirmed me in that opinion. grate uneasiness in the army has been the sure and sertaine Consequence of the appointment of all most Euery general officer since I have been here" . . . Auto-graph letter in Gov. Josiah Bartlett's Correspondence, Vol. I, Dartmouth College Library.

78. July 31, 1809. Stark to a Bennington Committee. "At my Quarters at Deryfield." Declines an invitation to a celebration of the battle; describes his troops, and his own political sentiments; and gives a sentiment: "Live free or die—Death is not the worst of evils". Farmer and Moore's Collections, I (1822), "Biographical Sketch of Stark", 113-114.

For Pres. Ezra Stiles' visit to Battle field, and his sketch, see below, App. B. no. 37.

APPENDIX B.

Select Bibliography of Bennington Battle and Campaign (July—August, 1777).

There is a Bibliography of Bennington Battle in Justin Winsor, Reader's Hand book of the American Revolution, 141-144 (Boston, 1880). The "Editorial Notes on the Authorities" in Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, VI, and cf. 349, 354-6, (Boston, 1888), give some additional material, especially contemporary. These two valuable bibliographies, do not cover all the contemporary matter on the campaign, or any of the accounts published since 1887. The following Select Bibliography, therefore gives: (I) as complete a list as possible of the contemporary sources, both manuscript and printed; (II) recent accounts not included in either of Winsor's Bibliographies.

I. Contemporary Sources: and Modern Works, Containing Contemporary Material.

a. List of Contemporary Writers.

The following contemporaries have left material bearing directly on the battle or campaign. These contemporaries comprise five classes viz: (1) witnesses of the battle (Thos. Allen, Barnes, Baum, Breyman, Clark, Chamberlain, Dearborn, Durnford, Fay, Field, Glich (?), Kimball, Mellen, Rudd, Safford, Skene, Stark, Walbridge, Warner, and the writer of the article in the Penn. Post); (2) active participants in the military campaign (Burgoyne, Burrall, Blake, Digby, Hadden, Lincoln, Riedesel, Schuyler, Thacher, Trumbull, Wilkinson); (3) those concerned in the political or military administration (Ira Allen, Bartlett, the Brunswick Officer (writer of the letters), Folsom, Hagan, Lovell, Patten, Spooner, Washington, Weare, Whipple); (4) contemporaries who recorded conditions and impressions known directly, or facts gathered from participants (Baroness Riedesel,

Stickney, Stiles, and authors of poems); (5) participants in the contemporaneous St. Leger expedition (Johnson, St. Leger, Willet).

The contemporary historians like Chalmers, Gordon (especially in view of his plagiarisms) Ramsay, and Stedman have not been added, as their information was derived at second hand and gives no additional facts.

The numbers after each name refer to the manuscripts or books in the succeeding list which contain the person's material.

Ira Allen, 10, 28, 32, 36, 40.
 Thos. Allen, 33.
 Capt. Barnes, 36.
 Col. (later Gov.) Josiah Bartlett, 1.
 Lieut. Col. Fred. Baum, 40, 43.
 Lieut. Thos. Blake, 17.
 Lieut. Col. Breyman, 40, 42.
 Brunswick Officer, 51, 53.
 Lieut.-Gen. Burgoyne, 19, 28, 34, 39, 40, 43, 44, 47.
 Col. Chas. Burrall, 20.
 Wm. Chamberlain, 22.
 Capt. Peter Clark, 24.
 Lieut. Andrew Durnford, Engineer, 43, map.
 Henry Dearborn, 21.
 Lieut. Wm. Digby, 45.
 Jonas Fay (V. Pres. Vt. Council Safety), 32, 40.
 Jesse Field (in Capt. Dewey's Co.—with Herrick's Rangers).

12 a.

Nathaniel Folsom (N. H. delegate in Congress), 1.
 Geo. Frost, No. 1.
 "A gentleman who was present", 23.
 ? Glich (?), 40. (Cf. Vt. Hist. Soc. Pro., 1896, p. 51, note.)
 Lieut. Jas. M. Hadden, 48.
 • Francis Hagan, 25.
 Sir John Johnson, 49.
 Capt. Peter Kimball, 12.
 Major-Gen. Lincoln, 8, 18, 28, 34, 36, 40, 56, 57.
 Jas. Lovell (Mass. delegate in Congress), 8.
 Thos. Mellen (private in Stark's Brigade), 11.

Matthew Patten (Member Gen. Court from Bedford, N. H.)

31. a.

Major-Gen. Riedesel. 46.

Baroness Riedesel. 50.

Joseph Rudd. 63.

Lieut.-Col. Barry St. Leger. 13, 42, 49.

Sergt. Jacob Safford (of Warner's Regiment). 12 a.

Gen. Philip Schuyler. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 18, 20, 31, 32, 34, 36, 40.

Gov. Philip Skene. 52.

Paul Spooner (Dep. Sec. Vt. Council Safety). 20, 32, 40.

Brig.-Gen. John Stark. 9, 15, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 40.

B. F. Stickney (son-in-law of Stark). 54, 55.

Ezra Stiles (President of Yale). 37.

Dr. Jas. Thacher, 39a.

Jonathan Trumbull, Jr. 20.

Col. Seth Warner. 28, 36.

George Washington. 14, 35.

Silas Walbridge, (private in Capt. Jo. Warner's Co.). 12 a.

Meshech Weare (President of N. H. Council, and of Comm. Safety). 28, 32, 36.

Brig. Gen. Wm. Whipple. 1, 8.

Gen. James Wilkinson. 41.

Col. Marinus Willet. 13.

For records of Congress, see below, no. 16; for Records of N. H. Comm. of Safety, see 26, and for their correspondence, 28; for Vt. Council of Safety, 32; some of the letters of the N. Y. Council of Safety are in 11 and 28, and a note regarding the MS. minutes of the N. Y. Comm. and Council of Safety is in Jas. A. Roberts, N. Y. in the Revolution, Supplement, pp. 134-229, 149 ssq.; for contemporary poems, see 38; for reminiscences of grand son of Ebenezer Arnold, see 62. In the History of New Ipswich, there are reminiscences, by an octogenarian, of the arms and appearance of the militia of that place.

The oft repeated but variously quoted speech of Stark before the battle, as to Molly Stark and the Hessians, appears to rest on tradition which may or may not be correct, but which is unsupported by any personal or verifiable authority, so far as the observation of the writer has gone. Any definite contemporary confirmation of it would be welcomed.

b. Manuscripts.

1. Governor Josiah Bartlett's Correspondence (1774-1794). 3 Vols. containing about 300 manuscripts, Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N. H. Bartlett was a man of varied abilities and experience, and his correspondence deserves printing for the light it would give on Revolutionary and N. H. History.
2. Private Collection of Samuel T. Crosby, Esq. Hingham, Mass.
3. Massachusetts Archives, Archives Division of Office of Secretary of State, Boston, especially Vols. 197-198.
4. New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N. H.
5. "General Philip Schuyler's Orderly Book, Fort Edward, Albany, June 29 to Aug. 18, 1777." In Library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
6. Gen. Schuyler's Ledger, 1775-1777. Interior Department, Pension Bureau, Old War and Navy Division, Washington, file 68.
7. Gen. Schuyler's Account Book, April 30 to August 18, 1777. Ibid., file 12.
8. Sparks MSS., Harvard University Library; copies and originals collected by Jared Sparks. Vols. X, XX, XXIX, XXXIX, XLVII, XLIX, LII, LVIII, LX. See Justin Winsor, Calendar of the Sparks MSS. in Harvard University Library; in Bibliographical Contributions, republished from Bulletin of Harvard University, Cambridge, 1889.
9. Wheelock MSS. Dartmouth College Library. See above, App. A, no. 33.

This collection contains also the following unpublished letters of Stark later than the Bennington campaign: To Gov. Chittenden of Vt., June 21, 1778; to Col. John Wheelock, June 10, Aug. 6, Sept. 19, 1778; certificate for do. Apr. 22, 1786.

The following MSS. collections have been examined for Stark-Schuyler Correspondence by the kindness of the officials in charge; but without discovery of unprinted matter save in the first collection:—Private Collection of Mr. Samuel T. Crosby, Hingham, Mass. (see App. A, nos. 48, 73); Boston Public

Library; Boston Athenaeum; New Hampshire State Papers, Concord; New York State Library, Albany; Massachusetts Historical Society; Portsmouth Athenaeum, N. H.; Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.

Acknowledgements are due to the custodians of all the above collections and to the Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, Washington.

The following MS. sources have not been examined in preparing this paper:

"The Henry Stevens papers, largely relating to Vermont, not as yet arranged" (N. Y. State Library); certain Schuyler MSS. about to pass into the possession of the N. Y. Public Library but not accessible when this article was written; MSS. in English Public Record Office ("Vol. 351, Quebec, xvii" said by Winsor to contain much on the expedition of Baum and Breymann); MS. records at Exeter, N. H., in County Offices. For Stevens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts, see below no. 52. For information regarding probable material in England, see C. M. Andrews, in *American Historical Review*, Jan. 1905; especially pp. 330, 340 (St. Leger), 343 (Hessian troops).

c. Books Containing Contemporary Material.

Listed alphabetically under name of the author of the book in which the account is contained. For list of individual contemporaries leaving accounts, see above.

a. American Accounts.

10. **Allen, Ira**, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont*. (London, 1798.) Reprinted in *Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I (1870), 327-499. 383-389 relate to Bennington. Allen was Sec. of the Vt. Council of Safety, but wrote years after the events, and "remote from original documents", has a controversial tone, and therefore must be used discriminately.

11. **Butler, J. D.**, and **Houghton, Geo. F.**, *Address on the Battle of Bennington, and the Life and Services of Col. Seth Warner*; Delivered before the Legislature of Vermont, in Montpelier, Oct. 20, 1848. Published by order of the Legislature. Burlington, 1849. Thos. Mellen's Narrative, 26-29; Stark's advertisement of his horse stolen in battle, 23.

12. **Coffin, C. C.**, History of Boscawen and Webster. Concord, 1878. Capt. Peter Kimball's Diary, July 24—Sept 25, 1777, pp. 261-4.

12a. **Coburn, F. W.**, The Centennial History of the Battle of Bennington; compiled from the most reliable sources and fully illustrated with original documents and entertaining anecdotes. Boston, 1877. Jacob Safford's account, 56.

13. **Dawson, H. B.**, Battles of the United States; with documents. N. Y. c. 1858. 2 Vols. Accounts of Willet (and St. Leger), I, 248-253.

14. **Ford, W. C.**, *editor*, Writings of Washington, 14 Vols. N. Y., 1889-93. V, VI.

15. **Gilmore, Geo. C.**, Roll of N. H. Soldiers at Bennington Battle, Aug. 16, 1777, Manchester, 1891. The latest and most complete list of the 1,467 N. H. men at the battle, alphabetically arranged with residence, regiment, rank, company, date of enlistment, and reference to the printed Revolutionary Rolls (N. H. State Papers, XV, 139-237). The residences are "supplied from every available source." The frontispiece is a reproduction of the "Original sketch [of Stark] made by Miss Hannah Crowninshield of Salem, Mass., May 31, 1810." (A Silhouette of Stark is in Winsor, America, VI.)

15a. **Goodrich, J. E.**, Rolls of the [Vt.] Soldiers in the Revolutionary War. Rutland, 1904. 26-27, 154 names in two companies.

16. **Journals of Congress**, containing the Proceedings from January 1, 1777 to January 1, 1778. Published by order of Congress, N. Y. Vol. III, 70, 73, 298-310, 337-8, 411-412.

17. **Kidder, F.**, History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution. Albany, 1868. Lieut. Thos. Blake's Journal, 25-56.

18. **Lossing, B. J.**, Life and Times of Philip Schuyler, N. Y., 1873. Letters of Schuyler and others, 216-262.

19. **Massachusetts Historical Society Collections**, 2d Series, II (1793), 25-27, Burgoyne's Instructions to Baum.

20. *Ibid.*, 7th Series, II (Trumbull Papers), Boston, 1902. 72-124, letters of Schuyler, Jonathan Trumbull, Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Lincoln, Spooner, and Burrall, July 8- Aug. 19, 1777.

Of value for their picture of the confusion of the time ; and of the different attitudes of Schuyler and the two Trumbulls.

21. **Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings**, 2d Series, III (1886-7), 102-110, Journal of Henry Dearborn, July 25, 1776 to Dec. 4, 1777.

22. *Ibid.* 2d Series, X, (1895-6) 504-6; Letter of Wm. Chamberlain ; "Battle of Bennington Described. A song to the Tune of Yankee Doodle, composed and sung by one who was an actor in the scene, a day or two after the battle".

23. **Moore, F.**, Diary of the American Revolution, from newspapers and original documents. N. Y., 1860. 2 Vols. p. 479, account of battle "by a gentleman who was present" reprinted from the Pennsylvania Evening Post, Sept. 4, 1777.

24. **New England Historical and Genealogical Register**, XIV (1860), 121-3. Letters of Capt. Peter Clark, Aug. 6, 7, 18, 29, 1777.

25. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 1864, p. 33, Francis Hagan to Dr. Jonathan Potts. Bennington, Sept. 21 ; on the discord between Germans and British.

26. **New Hampshire Historical Society Collections**, VII (1863), "Records of the N. H. Committee of Safety, May 19, 1775 to May 29, 1784." Pp. 105-118, items regarding campaign, July 14 to Aug. 27, 1777.

27. **New Hampshire State Papers**, Vol. VII, Provincial Papers ; Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New Hampshire, from 1764 to 1776. Published by the State. Nathaniel Bouton, *Editor*. Nashua, 1873, pp. 724-781, "Census of N. H., 1775."

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, (Concord, 1874). State Papers, 1776-1783. Special Session of General Court, and Correspondence, July 19—Sept. 20, 1777, pp. 629-689. The best collection of printed documents showing the part of N. H. in the campaign. Contains letters from Allen, Warner, Vt. Council, Schuyler, Lincoln, N. Y. Council, Burgoyne's Proclamations of July 4 and 10, and his instructions to Baum (p. 664), as well as letters from Stark, N. H. Comm., and other N. H. people.

29. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV (Revolutionary Rolls, Vol. 2, Isaac W.

Hammond, *Editor*, Concord, N. H., 1886). "Bennington Troops," pp. 139-237 (Stark Letters, 230-1). A list of staff and other officers and pay rolls of all companies, with dates of enlistment and discharge of all troops and residences of officers, but not of privates. This, and the Roll by Gilmore (see above no. 15), supersede the partial list given in the Report of the Adjutant General of N. H., for 1866, Vol. II, 315-325.

30. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII (1889), 144, Stark to Dr. Solomon Chase, Aug. 3, 1777.

31. **New York Historical Society Collections**, I, (1879). N. Y., 1880. Contains "The Trial of Major-General Schuyler," with copies and extracts of his letters and papers.

31a. **Patten**, Matthew, Diary of Matthew Patten of Bedford, N. H., 1754-1788, Pub. by the Town. Concord, N. H., 1903. 371, attendance at Gen. Court; and mustering of 52 men, July 23.

32. **Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council of the State of Vermont** to which are prefixed the Records of the General Conventions from July 1775 to December 1777. Vol. I, 1775-1779. Montpelier, 1873. 130-145 contain proceedings of the Council of Safety and letters from Allen, Fay, Spooner, Schuyler, Weare, and Stark (to Conn. Courant, Aug. 18, p. 144).

33. **Smith**, J. E. A., History of Pittsfield, Mass. Boston, 1869. Appendix F, 499-501, "Account of the Battle of Bennington by the Reverend Thomas Allen. From the Connecticut Courant, Aug. 25, 1777."

34. **Sparks**, Jared, Correspondence of the American Revolution; being letters of Eminent men to Washington. Boston, 1853. 4 Vols. I, 419, 425; II, 516-518, letters of Schuyler to Washington and Lincoln, Lincoln to Schuyler and Mass. Council. (Burgoyne to Baum, Aug. 14.)

35. **Sparks**, Jared, *Editor*, Writings of Washington, Boston, 1837. 12 Vols. I, 3, to Schuyler, (July 24); 28, to Clinton (Aug. 13); 29-32, to Clinton (Aug. 16); 42, to Putnam (Aug. 22).

36. **Stark**, Caleb, Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark, with Notices of Several other Officers of the Revolution. Concord, N. H., 1860. Letters of Stark, Lincoln, Schuyler, Allen, Warner, Weare, etc. 119-141.

37. **Stiles**, Ezra, *Literary Diary*, edited by Franklin B. Dexter. N. Y. 1901. 3 Vols. III, 242; Sept. 13, 1786. "Visited the Place of Bennington Battle Oct. 16, 1777 above 150 or 200 R. West fr. N. W. Corner of Bennington saw the Grave of Count Bawm in the S. W. corner of Shaftesbury near the House where we dined. Rode 5 m. to Bennington." Accompanying this entry is a rough pen sketch of "Battle of Bennington Oct. 16 1777. The Bridge six m. fr Benningt Meetg". "1100 Brit. with Count Bawm". "1500 Militia". "500 Tories". On Jan. 28, 1778, Stiles had "breakfasted with Gen. Starks (at Rev. Dr. Havens) who gave me an acc^o of the Battle of Bennington;" *ibid.*, II, 245. See also II, 186, 200, 216-7, 231, 235, 242.

38. **Stone**, W. L., *Editor*. Ballads and Poems relating to the Burgoyne Campaign. Albany, 1893.

39. ———, Campaign of Lieut.-Gen. John Burgoyne, and Expedition of Lieut.-Col. Barry St. Leger, Albany, 1877. Appendix contains reminiscences by participants.

39a. **Thacher**, Jas., *Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783*, with biographical sketches. Boston, 1823 (another ed. Hartford, 1862). 98-103; 109-113.

40. **Vermont Historical Society Collections**, I, Montpelier, 1870. Contains "Documents in Relation to the Part taken by Vermont in Resisting the Invasion of Burgoyne in 1777;" and is the chief printed source on this subject. Pp. 175-229 contain Correspondence of Allen, Fay, Spooner, Stark, Lincoln, Schuyler, and also of Baum and Burgoyne. Noah Smith's address at anniversary in 1778, and Ira Allen's History of Vt. (see above, No. 10) are also in this vol.

41. **Wilkinson**, Gen. James, *Memoirs of my Own Times*. Philadelphia, 1816. 3 Vols. I, 193-218, Wilkinson's recollections, and letters from Schuyler, July 10-Aug. 18.

(For Conn. Courant of Aug. 18 and 25, see above Nos. 32 and

33. For MS. communications by participants, made to Hiland Hall see above 12a; and also in his art. in Vt. Quart. Mag. 1861, p. 156, Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 209.)

British and German Accounts.

42. **The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle**,

Vol. XLVIII, for 1778. London, Breyman's "Account of an Affair which happened near Walloon-Creek, 16th Aug. 1777," 119-120. "Lieut. Col. St. Leger's Letter to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Oswego, Aug. 27, 1777" (concerning siege of Ft. Stanwix), *ibid.*, 117-119. There is also a "Relation of the Expedition to Bennington," *ibid.*, 120-2.

43. **Burgoyne**, *Lt.-Gen.* John A. State of the Expedition from Canada as laid before the House of Commons, and verified by Evidence, with a Collection of Authentic Documents. London, 1780. "Speech," "Narrative," "Evidence" of witnesses, "Review of Evidence," and appendix of documents. See especially 13, 77, 103-108, and App. nos. VIII-XIII, Instructions to Baum and Skene, letters to and from Baum; it also includes the Faden map drawn by Lieut. Durnford.

44. ———, *Orderly Book of*, Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, Albany, 1860, 29-76: orders from "Skeinesborough," July 6-23; "Camp at Fort Anne," July 25-28; "Pitch Pine Plains," July 29; "Camp at Fort Edward," July 30-Aug. 13; "Camp at Duer's House," Aug. 14-Sept. 10. Rogers in his edition of Hadden's *Orderly Book*, pp. xxxvii-xli, believes the MS. was not the original one, and criticizes the use made of it by O'Callaghan.

45. **Digby**, *Lieut. Wm.*, *Journal*, edited by J. P. Baxter. Albany, 1887.

46. **Eelking**, Max von, *Memoirs, and Letters and Journal of Major-General Riedesel*; translated by Wm. L. Stone. Albany, 1868.

47. **Fonblanque**, E. B. de, *Political and Military Episodes in the latter half of the 18th Century*; derived from the life and correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne. London, 1876. See 271, 276, and Appendix.

48. **Hadden**, *Lieut. Jas. M.*, *Journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign* also orders kept by him and issued by Carleton, Burgoyne, and Phillips. Albany, 1884. Edited by H. Rogers. 89-137: Gen. Orders; map (p.90); Burgoyne's Instructions to Baum; Burgoyne's comments; Stark's letter to N. H.; Hadden's comments on Skene, Baum and Breyman and the "picque" between these two. Valuable material, excellently

edited. The letter of congratulations to Stark should be credited to Mass. not N. H.

49. **Johnson**, Sir John, Orderly Book during the Oriskany Campaign, 1776-1777. Annotated by Wm. L. Stone. Albany, 1882.

50. **Riedesel**, Baroness, Letters and Journals Relating to the American Revolution and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga; translated by Wm. L. Stone. Albany, 1867.

51. **Schloezer**, Briefwechsel Meist Historischen und Politischen Inhalts. Göttingen, 1777-81. 10 Vols. III, 35-42, translated in Stone's Letters.

52. **Stevens**, B. F., Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-83; with descriptions, editorial notes, collations, references and translations. London, 1889-98. 25 Vols. 2107 documents. See especially two unprinted letters from Skene to Dartmouth before and after the battle; Vol. XVI, no. 1573; Vol. XVIII, no. 1665 (latter given above, App. A, No. 78.)

54. **Stone**, Wm. L., *Translator*, Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution. Albany, 1891. 84 ssq., description of Vt. ("Grafschaften," is misleadingly translated as "Countries" and "Counties," whereas it plainly is used for the New England township); 96-111.

(For **Stone**, Ballads, and his Burgoyne's Campaign, see above nos. 38, 39, under *American Accounts*.)

For list of MS. authorities in German, see Eelking, German Allied Troops (trans. Rosengarten), 11-14.

The two following accounts, although not by participants, nor strictly contemporary (one was published in Stark's lifetime 1810, and the other the year of his death, 1822) are added here for their value in connection with Stark's views.

54. **New Hampshire Patriot** for Apr. 17, May 1, May 15, 1810. Series of articles based on Stark's papers and conversations, and written by B. F. Stickney, son-in-law of Stark. (See Farmer and Moore below.)

55. **Farmer**, J., and **Moore**, J. B., Collections, Topographical, Historical and Biographical, Relating Principally to New Hamp-

shire. Vol. I, Concord, 1822. Reprinted, 1831. 62-116, "Biographical Sketch of General John Stark," "based on particulars given by his son Caleb, . . . and an account published in the N. H. Patriot in 1810, collected from the papers and conversations of the deceased General by his son-in-law, B. F. Stickney, Esq." Two letters of Stark, 113-116.

II. Recent Accounts: not included in Justin Winsor's Bibliographies.

56. **Batchellor**, A. S., The Ranger Service in the Upper Valley of the Connecticut, and the most Northerly Regiment of the New Hampshire Militia in the Period of the Revolution. Concord, N. H., 1903.

57. **The Dedication of the Bennington Battle Monument**, and Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Admission of Vermont as a State. Bennington, Aug. 19, A. D. 1891, with an Historical Introduction and Appendices. Published by Authority of the Centennial Committee. Bennington, 1892. Contains Oration by E. J. Phelps, various addresses and illustrations.

58. **Drake**, S. A., Burgoyne's Invasion of 1777, with an outline sketch of the American Invasion of Canada, 1775-76. Boston, 1889. A very brief but clear little book with very useful sketch maps of movements and battles: e. g. 49, 71, 79.

59. **Eelking**, Max von, The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776-1783: translated and abridged from the German, by J. G. Rosengarten. Albany, 1893. 130-132. Contains a list of German MS. sources, 11-14, and an index of German Officers.

60. **Fiske**, John, The American Revolution. Boston, 1891. 2 Vols. There is a small but useful map, I, 218. The statement, I, 282, regarding Lincoln and Warner is incorrect and misleading; Lincoln had been at the Hudson since Aug. 12. See above App. A, nos. 42, 46, 49, 57.

61. **Fortescue**, J. W., A History of the British Army. Vol. III, 1763-1793.

62. **Hall**, Benj. H., Articles in Troy, N. Y., Times, Sept. 26, and Oct. 17, 1891.

63. **Hall**, Henry D., "The Battle of Bennington." In The Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society Papers for 1894; also in the Vermont Historical Society Proceedings, Oct. 20 and Nov. 5, 1896. Controverts the attempt of S. D. Locke to change the name of the Battle (see below). Contains reminiscences from grandson of Ebenezer Arnold who lived near Baum's camp; a letter of Aug. 20, 1777, from Joseph Rudd on the battle; a reproduction of the Durnford-Faden map; and illustrations of the Catamount Tavern, "Counsil Room," and Bennington Monument.

64. **Herrick**, H. W., Memorials and Anecdotes of General Stark. Granite State Monthly, III (1879-80), 259-263.

On the birth place of Stark *ibid.* II, 101.

65. **Locke**, S. D., "The Battle of Bennington Should be Called the Battle of Walloomsac." Reprinted from the Troy Daily Times, Jan. 2, 1892. Attempts to prove: (1) his title; (2) that "N. Y. furnished troops;" (3) that "Burgoyne did not fit out an expedition against Bennington, nor did he send Baum to capture stores there." He cannot be said to have succeeded. He has been answered by Henry D. Hall, see above. Against Mr. Locke's third point, additional evidence of Bennington as an object is to be found in Hadden Journal, 111 (Aug. 9); Digby, Journal, 248; Burgoyne, State of the Expedition, 13, 107, and App. p. xxii; Cf. N. H. Soc. Coll., 7th Ser., II, 119. On name of battle, see foot-note 50, and App. A, No. 54. See also article by D. S. Locke in National Magazine of American History, Apr. 1892, do. in Troy Times, Sept. 15, 1891, and by Benj. H. Hall in Troy Times, Sept. 26, and Oct. 17, 1891.

66. **Pfister**, A., Die Amerikanische Revolution, 1775-1783; Entwicklungs-geschichte der Grundlagen zum Freistaat wie zum Weltreich unter Hervorhebung des deutschen Anteils. 2 Bände. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1904. II, 60, is entirely erroneous in its statement that Washington assigned Bennington as a meeting place to the militia of N. H. under Stark; and the characterization of Stark's dispatches (II, 83) argues either total ignorance or entire misjudgment of Stark's accounts of the battle.

67. **Proceedings in Congress upon the Acceptance of the Statues of John Stark and Daniel Webster**, Presented by the

State of New Hampshire, Washington, 1895. Addresses by Senators Gallinger, Chandler, Proctor, Dubois; and by Representatives Baker, Blair, Powers, Grout.

68. **Sanborn, Frank B.**, "Gen. John Stark: his Genius as a Factor in the Accomplishment of American Independence." N. H. Historical Society Proceedings, III (1895-9), 391-414. Emphasizes Stark's democratic and anti-British views.

69. ———, New Hampshire, an Epitome of Popular Government. (American Commonwealths.) Boston, 1904. 225-7, 260-2.

70. **The Statue Erected by the State of New Hampshire in Honor of General John Stark.** A Sketch of its Inception, Erection, and Dedication. Published under the Authority of the Governor and Council. Manchester, 1890. Oration by Jas. W. Patterson.

71. **Trevelyan, Sir Geo. Otto**, The American Revolution. N. Y., 1899, 1903. The three Vols. so far published do not cover the Burgoyne campaign; but in Pt. 2, Vol. II, 123-4, there is an epigrammatic characterization of Bennington and the Hessians.

72. **Tuckerman, Bayard**, Life of General Philip Schuyler, 1733-1804. N. Y., 1903.

References to accounts by the following authors may be found in Winsor's Bibliographies (see above): Bancroft, Bartlett, Bryant, Carrington, Chalmers, Chipman, Conant, Dawson, Everett, Goddard, Gordon, Greene, Guild, Hall, Hamilton, Herrick, Holland, Irving, Jennings, Jones, Lowell, de Peyster, Ramsay, Stedman, Tyler, (Vermont Historical Gazetteer).

III. Maps.

In Burgoyne's State of the Expedition, there is a carefully drawn map entitled "Position of the Detachment under Lieut Col^l Baum, at Walmscock near Bennington Shewing the Attacks of the Enemy on the 16th August 1777. Drawn by Lieu.^t Durnford Engineer.—Engraved by W^m. Faden 1780." This map has been frequently copied with varying accuracy, and usually with changes in names, e. g., in the following: Carrington, Battles,

334; Bryant and Gay, *History*, III, 583; Conant, *Cent. Hist.*, 46; Henry D. Hall in *Berk. Hist. Sci. Soc.*, 1894; and in *Vt. Hist. Soc. Pro.*, 1896; *Harpers Mag.* XXI, 325; *do.* LI, 515 (Sept. 1877); Jennings *Memorials of a Century*; Lossing, *Field Book*, I, 395;

Pres. Ezra Stiles, in 1786, drew a sketch of the battle in his *Diary*, III, 242 (see above no. 37).

A sketch map "drawn by Mr. Hiland Hall, Bennington, Oct. 13, 1826" is in the Sparks MSS. no. xxviii.

Of the Burgoyne Campaign, the contemporary and best map is in Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition*: "A map of the Country in which the Army under Lt. General Burgoyne acted in the Campaign of 1777, showing the Marches of the Army and the Places of the principal Actions. Drawn by Mr. Medcalfe & Engraved by W^m. Faden". (London, 1780.) The later maps follow this more or less closely; Anburey, *Travels*; Carrington, *Battles*, 312; Gordon, *Amer. Rev.*; Irving, *Washington*, III, 93 (ill. ed.); *Mag. Am. Hist.*, May, 1877; Neilson, *Burgoyne's Campaign*; Stedman, *American War*; Stone, *Campaign of Burgoyne*; O'Callaghan, *Burgoyne's Orderly Book*. Hadden gives in his *Journal*, 90, a rough sketch map of Hudson region from Crown Point to Stillwater (looking So.) valuable for its indication of distances and movements. Maps from Conn. River to Lake Ontario in *Gent. Mag.*, Jan. 1778, *London Mag.*, 1778. For maps published in 1775-6 and -7, see Winsor, *History*, VI, 349. There are useful little sketch maps in Drake, *Burgoyne's Invasion*. Fiske, *American Revolution*, I, 218, and Tuckerman, *Schuyler*, 170, give conveniently the region from Bennington as far west as Ft. Stanwix, but the maps are unfortunately very small and do not include several desirable places, or the region east of Bennington. The best maps of both battle and campaign are in Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition*; but unfortunately this is out of print and not accessible to the general reader. For the general reader the most available and convenient maps are probably those in Fiske, Drake, and Irving; but there appears to be no one historical map which shows the places necessary to illustrate the whole Burgoyne campaign from the Connecticut River to the Mohawk and Lake Ontario.

APPENDIX C.

TABLE SHOWING DAILY POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF STARK, SCHUYLER, LINCOLN, BURGOTNE,

DATE	STARK.	SCHUYLER (and LINCOLN).
July		
18	Appointed Brig.-Gen. at Exeter, N. H.	Headquarters at Ft. Edward (since July 7).
19	Instructions from Comm. Safety at Exeter.	" " "
20	Crossing N. H. from Exeter to Conn. River.	" " "
21	" " "	" " "
22	" " "	" " "
23	" " "	" " "
24	Probably at Charlestown, N. H., as instructed.	" but also writes from Saratoga. { "Moses Creek 4 miles below Ft. Edward." { "Troops left Ft. Edward except about 600."
25	" " "	"Headquarters Moses Creek."
26	" " "	Probably Same. "Outguards at Ft. Edward [attacked."
27	" " "	Moses Creek.
28	" "Forwarded 250 men to their (Vt.) [relief."	Saratoga; but headquarters Moses Creek.
29	"	Saratoga.
30	At Charlestown. "Sent another detachment."	Saratoga; but headquarters Moses Creek.
31	Charlestown.	Saratoga.
Aug.		
1	Charlestown.	Saratoga.
2	Charlestown. "Had sent off 700 men."	Probably Saratoga (Lincoln at Manch'ter).
3	" "Planned to follow with 800 more."	"Marched from Saratoga" to Stillwater.
4	{ Crossing Vt. from Charlestown, N. H.	Stillwater.
5	{ on Conn. River to	Stillwater.
6	Bromley (Peru) Vt. in Green Mts.	Stillwater. (Lincoln at Manchester).
7	Manchester, Vt.	Stillwater. (Lincoln at Manchester).
8	Left Manchester.	Albany. (Lincoln at Manchester).
9	Arrived at Bennington.	{ "Albany. Burgoyne has withdrawn every { Detachment he had in the Grants."
10	Bennington.	Albany. (Lincoln at Bennington).
11	Bennington.	At both Albany and Stillwater.
12	Bennington.	Stillwater. (Lincoln also at Stillwater).
13	{ "Informed . . party of Indians at Cam- bridge, sent Gregg; later learned of large body"	Stillwater. (Lincoln prob. Stillwater).
14	{ "Marched to oppose them and to cover Gregg's retreat about 4 miles, . . . marched back about 1."	Stillwater, (Lincoln at Half Moon, on Hud- [son.]
15	{ "Rained all day. I sent out parties to harass them."	"Forts Five Miles below Stillwater." { " " "Enemy pointing their whole { force this way." ("Lincoln at Half Moon")
16	"Memorable battle fought at Walloomscook."	

The above dates and positions are all taken from contemporary documents; these are, with few exceptions, the letters and orderly books of the respective commanders. In a few cases supplementary information is added from the Journals or Orderly Books of Blake, Digby, Hadden, Johnson. Most of the dates and positions

APPENDIX C.

BAUM, BREYMAN, AND ST. LEGER, IN THE CAMPAIGN PRECEDING BENNINGTON, JULY-AUG., 1777.

BURGOYNE.	ST. LEGER. BAUM (and BREYMAN).	DATE
		July
At "Skeensborough House." . "Headquarters of the King's Army" (since July 6).		18
" " "		19
" " "		20
" " "		21
" " "		22
" " "Advanced corps moved to Ft. [Anne."		23
" " "Gen. orders Skeensborough."		24
Ft. Anne. "Army moved to Ft. Anne 14 miles."		25
Ft. Anne. Fraser 7 miles farther.		26
Ft. Anne. [Anne "		27
Ft. Anne. Part of army "marched from Ft. [Anne "		28
"Headquarters near Ft. Anne." "Right wing moved forward to Ft. Edward, 14 miles." }		29
Ft. Edward.		30
Ft. Edward. "Germans remained at Ft. Anne."		31
		Aug.
Ft. Edward.		1
Ft. Edward.		2
Ft. Edward.	St. Leger invested Ft. Stanwix (Ft. Schuyler).	3
Ft. Edward.		4
Ft. Edward.		5
Ft. Edward. "German troops...from Ft. Anne to Cross Roads," 2 miles from Ft. Edward.	Battle of Oriskany.	6
Ft. Edward.	St. Leger demands surrender of Ft. Stanwix; is refused; and continues siege to Aug. 23	7
Ft. Edward.	BAUM (and BREYMAN).	8
Ft. Edward. "Frazier's Corps moved forward to Ft. Miller...Duer's House, 7 miles."	Baum at Ft. Edward receives Burgoyne's instructions and marches to Ft. Miller.	9
Ft. Edward.	Probably at Ft. Miller.	10
Ft. Edward.	Marches from Ft. Miller to Saratoga.	11
Ft. Edward.	Delayed at Battenkill "to receive fresh instructions."	12
Ft. Edward.	Marched to Cambridge, N. Y., "about 18 miles from Bennington."	13
Duer's House. "Army marched to Duer's House (usually called Ft. Miller)...7 miles."	At Sancoick, 12 miles from Bennington. (Breyman "opposite Saratoga")	14
Burgoyne "near Saratoga. Seven at night."	"At k'd near Ben'gt'n." (Breyman marched from Bat'kill to within 7 miles of Cambridge)	15
Ft. Miller.	"Attacked, defeated and taken." (Breyman, also defeated, retreated to Cambridge)	16

may be verified from the Calendar of Documents in Appendix A; they all may be verified from the contemporary material indicated in the Bibliography in Appendix B, "List of Contemporary Writers." See under Baum, Blake, Breyman, Burgoyne, Digby, Hadden, Johnson, Lincoln, St. Leger, Schuyler, Stark, Weare.

NEW YORK AT WALLOOMSAC.

NELSON GILLESPIE, PRESIDENT HOOSAC VALLEY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—The summer of 1777, gave promise of abundant harvest in the northern and western clearings of the State of New York; but the hearts of the people were troubled; the shadows of war were again darkening the land, and other hands might reap where they had sown.

Burgoyne's invading army with its Indian allies, was threatening the upper Hudson valley, while St. Leger's force was descending the Mohawk, each intent on reaching Albany.

There was widespread alarm, when the fall of Ticonderoga was announced, and preparations were made by the settlers on the frontier, to hastily abandon their homes on the nearer approach of the enemy.

Burgoyne was successful in his advance movement, until he encountered the obstructions placed in his path through the forest defiles, by the patriotic army. It was here he for the first time came in contact with American backwoods engineering. The blockade of the northern wilderness route, introduced an intricate problem, the solution of which taxed the endurance of his army to such an extent that, when the barriers were removed, he was not inclined to at once pursue the Americans who had fallen back.

General Philip Schuyler, at the head of the northern army of patriots had done good work in so successfully retarding the progress of the enemy, while awaiting reinforcements for his own army of which he was greatly in need.

The Council of Safety, assisted by General George Clinton, was untiring in its efforts to relieve the situation, which now had become critical. The militia resources of the State were exhausted.

New York was bearing the whole burden of the struggle in her own State, by guarding the highlands on the south, the valley of the Mohawk on the west, and the upper Hudson on the north, where four thousand of the patriot army, with a battery of two old field pieces, were left to oppose the advance of eight thousand disciplined troops, and a horde of Tories and savages.

Uneasiness was rife in the ranks, when it was manifest that the army, for lack of support, would be compelled to retreat, leaving a portion of the northern district wholly unprotected; and this condition was alarmingly intensified by every fresh rumor of Tory depredations or Indian outrage, committed in the vicinity of their homes. Under these circumstances, favor was extended to those who were desirous of removing their families to places of greater security.

Perhaps during the whole period of the campaign, no greater tests of patriotic endurance were experienced than by those who remained at the post of duty under these trying circumstances.

On the 29th of July, General Schuyler retired to Saratoga, and from there to Stillwater. On the same day Burgoyne's army reached the Hudson River. While the two armies were shifting positions, arrangements for inaugurating the first State Governor of New York, were being perfected.

July 30th, General George Clinton was inducted to office, and proclaimed Governor, Commander-in-Chief of all the militia, and, Admiral of the Navy of the State of New York. New York had now entirely discarded the provincial customs; its chief magistrate, for the first time in her history, had been chosen by the free holders of the State.

From the beginning of the campaign, the military affairs of the State had been under the supervision of the Council of Safety. The new Governor now assumed the duties of that department,

and instituted reforms, that finally resulted in placing the army on a more substantial footing.

Urgent appeals for help were sent to the bordering States, with the following results. Connecticut was the first to respond with a promise of fourteen hundred men to be sent to Albany. New Hampshire on the 5th of August, announced that General Stark had sent off seven hundred men to join Colonel Warner at Manchester, and would follow next day with three hundred more. Massachusetts, under date of August 14th, reported that orders were issued that men from the counties of Worcester and Middlesex, be sent to reinforce Colonel Warner.

In 1772, the County of Albany was divided, and two new counties set off, namely: Charlotte and Tryon. The easterly half of Vermont lying west of the Connecticut River, also claimed by New York, and, since forming a part of Albany County, was set off in two counties, Cumberland 1766, and Gloucester 1770.

The whole tract of country including the little and big Hoosick rivers, was called Hoosick, and no divisions of townships were made until after the revolution. Hoosick Falls then known by the Indian name of Quequick (Leaping Water), contained only three or four families.

On the 11th day of August, the commanding officers of militia in the Counties of Charlotte, Cumberland and Gloucester, were ordered to make reports, and, forthwith on receipt of the order, to make a draft of one-fourth part of their regiments. This order was issued five days before the Battle of Walloomsac.

During this stage of the campaign, the Tory element, emboldened by the near approach of the invading army, assumed the aggressive and vented their wrath on the persons and the belongings of former friends and neighbors who had espoused the patriotic cause. This same element kept the British Commander informed of the condition of the northern army, and of the fact that dissatisfaction with its Generals had been openly and freely expressed. He was aware that armed bodies of Tories awaited the opportunity to prove their allegiance to the crown, and was flattered with the assurance that an advance into the inhabited country would be the signal for others to declare themselves.

The scheme long entertained by Burgoyne for a side invasion into the eastern states, was formulated in the depths of the forest. Unfortunately for this British Commander, there was no King Hendrick at his right hand to illustrate in rustic symbolism the futility of again dividing his army.

The part New York took in the battle of Walloomsac has received but scant recognition, due in part to the fact that her armies were engaged in nearly every section of the State during the occurrence. The first report of the victory diverted attention, and caused many misleading errors in designating the true location of the battle, and efforts have been made since to erroneously impress on the minds of the people that New York had no share in the victory. That "Hoosick furnished only Tories at the battle" of Walloomsac, is a reflection on the stability and heroism of the sons of the rockribbed valleys, who ratified the Declaration of Independence by an immediate formation of four separate companies to sustain the principles enunciated in that world famed document.

A chronicler of the events in our early history has remarked, "I believe sufficient has already been said to show that the inhabitants of Hoosick were not idle spectators, or lacking in interest or courage, or did not bear their quota in those war times."

Most of the inhabitants between Cambridge and Sancoik had removed before Baum's advance from Saratoga. Many of the men returned to gather their harvests or join the army, irrespective of company or regiment. David Younglove a member of the 16th New York regiment, was the first to notify the patriot army of Baum's near approach, then within a few miles of Sancoik Mill. On the morning of August 14th, while some of Baum's officers were standing on the porch of the Van Rensselaer House at Sancoik, James Moore of the Charlotte County, N. Y., regiment, fired the first shot at Baum's troops, his rifle-ball passing through the body of an officer and through the door behind him. This was Moore's second exploit, he having shot the Indian mentioned in Baum's letter, written from the mill at Sancoik to General Burgoyne. New York had, at least, made a good start in repelling the invaders.

The numerical strength of the New York troops that rendered service at the battles of Walloomsac cannot be determined at this late day, there being no official records to supply the data needed, but sufficient reliable information disproves the often repeated assertion, that there were none in the battle. To those who are aware of the conditions that then existed in the State, it is obvious that New York was at that time fully engaged in defending three points of attack from as many well appointed armies of the enemy. It is known also that every man in the State capable of bearing arms was reminded of his duty to his country and called on to defend her. So thoroughly was the work of recruiting done that officers were forwarded into the northern counties who personally enlisted men for service under Gen. Schuyler.

Such were the conditions of military affairs in the State at the time of Col. Baum's invasion.

In taking up the subject, New York at Walloomsac, it was not expected that wonderful results would follow. The principal object being to correct an error by establishing the fact that New York troops were engaged in the battle. A sufficient number of verified names to constitute the average militia company has been secured and accredited to the following:

4th Albany, 6th Albany, 3rd Line, 5th Artillery,
2nd Westchester, 6th Dutchess, 13th Albany, 14th Albany,
16th Albany, Charlotte County.

If the names of all the militia and volunteers from Cambridge, White Creek and Hoosick, could be procured, they would show that at least one hundred and fifty men were under arms at Walloomsac battle. Col. William Williams of Cumberland County, N. Y., (now Vermont), fought in that battle, with his regiment, under a commission from New York State; and his men, though preferring to act with the Vermont troops, were then under the jurisdiction of New York, receiving their equipment and supplies therefrom.

B. H. Hall, Esq., in the "War of the Revolution" published in

the History of Rensselaer County 1880, introduced the following document with these words:

"It is probable that the second battle was begun and fought, in part, by a body of New Yorkers under command of Col. John Williams of White Creek, now Salem. Arriving during the progress of the first battle, he, although belonging to the New York line, offered his services, and received the following order:

State of Vermont, in Council of Safety, August 16, 1777:—
To Colonel John Williams—Sir: You will proceed with your party toward the lines, and if the enemy should retreat, you will repair to the road leading from St. Croix (Sancoik) to Hoosack, and, if you make any discovery, report to this council; at the same time you are to pay proper attention to the road leading from Hoosack to Pownal."

PAUL SPOONER,
Secretary.

Of the second battle, the details are meager. Scarcely any mention of it has been made by any of the early writers. We learn from the Narrative of Dr. David Younglove, who was wounded in the battle, that "The most of Starks men that fell on that day were killed there." Thomas Comstock, a member of the 16th New York regiment, gave up his life in that battle.

To-day the stars and stripes wave over the scenes of the conflict that occurred one hundred twenty-seven years ago. Hessian Hill, where the brave General Stark and his valiant troops defeated Col. Baum's army, had been honored with the American flag but once (in 1802) from the date of the battle, until 1899, on which occasion fourteen flags, typical of the thirteen original states and their younger sister, Vermont, encircled the site of the British breast-works.

The scene of the second battle was first honored in 1834, when the fifty-seventh anniversary was celebrated. The features of the day were an oration by Elder Keach, and short addresses by William Gilmore and Cornelius Brassie, two veterans of the Walloomsac battle. After an interval of sixty-two years the flag was again raised, and on each succeeding anniversary, honors the memory of those who fought for liberty.

The following list is the result of an effort to discover and compile, as far as possible, the names of the New York patriots at Walloomsac August 16, 1777:

John Abbott	Israel Keach, Sr.
Isaac Abbott	John McClung
Ephraim Abbott	James McFarland
Theodore Abbott	Robert McMurray
Daniel Brown	David Matthews
Michael Beadle	Jacob Odekirk
Joseph Beadle	Peter Ostrander
Matthew Brewer	Amos Perry
David Barnhart	Bradock Peckham
Cornelius Brassie	Ichabod Prosser
Nathaniel Barnett	John Rowan
John Cooper	William W. Reynolds
Thomas Comstock	Henry Sherman
Henry Clark	Andrew Van Surdam
Ebenezer Clark, Jr., and	John Wier
Hired man	Austin Wells
Isaac Fowler	Daniel Wells
William Gilmore	Benjamin Wells
Jonathan Gardner	James Weaver
Isaac Hoard	David Younglove
James Irvine	John Younglove
James Jones	Samuel Younglove

GENERAL JOHN STARK.

BY ROBERT R. LAW.

THE colonists fought the battle of Bennington according to the plans and under the immediate direction of Gen. John Stark. To him history has rightfully given the credit for the success which crowned their efforts, that memorable 16th of August, one hundred and twenty-seven years ago. His name and that of Bennington are united in the minds of all students of history, and to understand the success of the Americans in that famous engagement, one must know John Stark.

What was the character,—the mental and moral qualities—of this pioneer, patriot and partisan leader?

To understand that character, rugged, strong and natural as his own New Hampshire mountains, it is necessary to examine his heredity, environment and training, and those manifestations of his beliefs, and of his likes and dislikes, which were evidenced by his acts and words in the various crises of his life.

It is not my purpose in this paper to give a connected detailed and exhaustive biography of Gen. Stark, but rather, by selected characteristic incidents and utterances, make you acquainted with his personality.

The principle which dominated his life was a sturdy and unbending independence, happily tempered by strong common-sense and a devotion to duty.

When Congress in the Spring of 1777 failed to give Stark the recognition he believed his services merited, that spirit of independence led him to resign his commission and return to his home, declaring that an officer who would not maintain his rank and assert his own rights, could not be trusted to vindicate those of his country. Yet at the same time, his devotion to the cause

of freedom impelled him to fit out and send to the front all the members of his family who were old enough to join the army.

This trait of his character, independence, was again manifested, when having accepted the command of the militia, in the summer of 1777, on condition that he should be accountable only to the authorities of New Hampshire, he refused to obey the order of General Lincoln and join Schuyler west of the Hudson. The result at Bennington justified his act of insubordination, and proved both his loyalty and his military wisdom.

This independence, amounting in youth to intolerance of restraint, at the time of the battle of Bennington, had been tempered by the experience of years. He then lacked but a few days of being 49 years old, having been born at Londonderry, New Hampshire, August 28th, 1728. This attribute of character was his natural possession, both by heredity and environment.

Tacitus says of the inhabitants of ancient Germany, that their love of liberty was so strong that such a thing as obedience was unknown among them. They chose a leader or war chief by universal suffrage, but each individual reserved the right to be master of his own conduct.

It is known that in 1495, the Duchess of Burgundy, widow of Charles the Bold, sent a body of German soldiers to invade England in support of the claim of one of the pretenders to the throne of Henry VII. The invaders were defeated, and those who survived fled to Scotland and were protected by the Scottish king. Among the German soldiers who remained in Scotland were men named Stark, and they are supposed to be the ancestors of General Stark. Be that as it may, his father Archibald Stark, a native of Glasgow and a graduate of her university, holding religious views differing from those of the reigning monarch, James the First, emigrated with others of like belief, to Londonderry in Ireland.

After a few years residence there, becoming dissatisfied with the institution of tithes and rents, these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians sought the greater freedom of the New World. They landed in Maine and made their way to the then frontier, establishing a settlement which they named Londonderry, in memory of their place of abode in Ireland.

With such heredity, restiveness under restraint might be expected; and in addition to that, Stark's early life and associations were such as to inspire him with a feeling of self-confidence, and the habit of mind of forming and executing his own plans, rather than of accepting blindly the directions of others. The home of his youth was on the outskirts of the settlements, in constant danger of Indian forays, and where his mother often stood guard with a rifle while the men were working in the fields.

When he was 24 years of age, he was captured by the St. Francis Indians, and won the hearts of his captors by his fearlessness and resource. When made to run the gauntlet, he snatched a club from the nearest warrior in the line and laid about him so lustily, that he escaped with little injury, and left many tokens of his prowess on the persons of the Indians, to the great amusement of the old men of the tribe who were spectators. When put at the squaw's work hoeing corn, he cut up the plants and left the weeds, and finally threw the hoe in the river, thus showing the Indians that he possessed the true idea of the dignity of a warrior, and he was made chief of the tribe.

His early military training was such as to develop and strengthen his love of independent action.

Robert Rogers, the famous leader of the rangers, selected Stark as one of the lieutenants of his company, when it was organized in 1755, for service in the French and Indian war. This was a compliment to the young lieutenant's strength, endurance, woodcraft and fidelity, for none were enlisted in that chosen band but those who knew the woods, and who could be trusted with entire confidence in any situation.

Stark's company was stationed at Fort Edward when the French under Baron Dieskau and the English under Gen. William Johnson fought the battle near this place, September 8, 1755, which resulted in the defeat of the French. Other results of the battle were the death of Col. Ephraim Williams, founder of Williams College, whose monument can be seen in the defile south of this village; the attaching of the names French Mountain and Bloody Pond to familiar features of the landscape, and the title of baronet to Sir William Johnson.

This battle closed the campaign, and Stark saw no more active service until 1757. On January 15, of that year, Major Robert Rogers, with a company of seventy-four rangers, Stark being present as first lieutenant, left their station at Fort Edward and marched to Fort William Henry, where they spent two days preparing snowshoes and provisions for an excursion to Ticonderoga. On the 17th they proceeded down Lake George on the ice, camping that night on the east shore near what is now known as Pearl Point. The weather was so severe and the traveling so difficult that it took the party the next three days to reach a point three miles from Lake Champlain. The next day, Jan. 21st, they reached that lake halfway between Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Seeing some sleds advancing over the ice in the distance, Rogers pursued them and took several prisoners, from whom he learned there was a large force of French and Indians at Ticonderoga. Knowing those who escaped would give the enemy intelligence of his approach, and that an immediate attack would follow, Major Rogers gave orders to his men to retreat as quickly as possible to the place they had occupied the night before, where the fires were still burning, and where they could dry their guns, as it was raining.

After the custom of the rangers, they commenced the march in single file, Rogers in front, Stark in the rear. Suddenly, after a mile had been traversed, on ascending a hill, they found themselves face to face with two hundred men drawn up in the form of a crescent. The straggling line of rangers was not twenty feet from the enemy when they received the first fire. Rogers was soon wounded, and the command devolved upon Stark, who rallied the men and held off the enemy. When some of his men proposed retreat, he threatened to shoot the first man who attempted it; when his gunlock was shattered by a bullet, he sprang forward and wrenched a gun from the dying grasp of a Frenchman, who was shot through the body, and renewed the battle. Thus they continued to fight in snow four feet deep, until the cold January night came on, and the enemy withdrew. Then the retreat of the Rangers began, and at dawn they had reached Lake George. It was impossible for the wounded to go farther

on foot, and Stark, with two men, proceeded on snowshoes to Fort William Henry, over the ice, reaching there at evening.

Without stopping to rest he started back, with a sleigh and a small reinforcing party, reaching his men the next morning, and bringing the party to the fort that evening.

After having marched and fought all one day, then retreated all one night, he travelled on foot and over snow and ice, without stopping to rest, one hundred and twenty miles in less than forty hours. As a feat of endurance alone it has seldom been equalled.

In the month of March, 1757, Captain Stark, who was, in the absence of Major Rogers, in command of the rangers at Fort William Henry, gave evidence of his shrewdness and vigilance. While going the rounds the night before St. Patrick's day, he heard some of the rangers planning to celebrate the occasion. There were many Irish among the regular troops, as well as among the rangers, and Stark foresaw the danger to which the post would be exposed at the close of the day, spent in excess and intoxication.

He therefore gave orders to the sutler that no spirituous liquors should be issued to his rangers, except on written orders signed by himself, and when applied to for those orders he pleaded a lameness of the wrist as an excuse for not giving them. Thus the evening of St. Patrick's day found the rangers sober, though the regulars had celebrated in the usual way. The French knowing the Irish custom calculated that the garrison would be in no condition to defend the fort, and made a night attack, but were repulsed by John Stark and his ready rangers.

In 1758, Captain Stark in command of a company of Major Rogers' rangers, was a part of that army of 16,000 men who under General Abercrombie and the brilliant Lord Howe, made the disastrous campaign against the French at Ticonderoga.

Ten thousand American and 6,000 English regular soldiers, gathered at Fort Gage, south of this village; their camp extending to the base of the mountains and covering all the level land; and on the evening of July 4th of that year all the stores were loaded into the boats which lined the beach at the head of the lake. At sunrise Saturday, July 5th, 1758, the army sailed for

the north. There were 900 bateaux, or flat bottom boats, over thirty feet long, 135 whale boats, besides many large flat-bottomed boats for artillery. The English regular soldiers with their scarlet coats were in the center, the Americans in blue, when uniformed at all, on either side. It was a beautiful mid-summer day, and Lake George has never before or since, seen so imposing a pageant.

With flags flying, bugles and bagpipes playing, it was all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war. When the last boat left the shore, the foremost had reached Diamond Island, and the intervening water seemed entirely covered. When the Narrows was reached and it became necessary to stretch out into lines, the flotilla extended over a space of six miles. Late in the afternoon they reached a point on the west shore where a landing was made, and from whence they left at an early hour Sabbath morning for Ticonderoga. This landing place was called by them Sabbath Day Point which name it retains to this day. That night Lord Howe called Capt. Stark to his tent and learned from him all he knew of Ticonderoga and its surroundings.

Of the death of Lord Howe at the first volley; of the indecision and bad management of Gen. Abercrombie, or "Mrs. Nabby Cromby," as he was derisively called by his men; of the useless sacrifice of life and the failure of the expedition, it is not necessary to speak, except to say that the rangers were the first to advance and the last to retreat, justifying in every respect the confidence reposed in them.

When news of the conflict at Concord and Lexington was received, Stark was at work in his sawmill. Without waiting to go home to put on a coat, he jumped upon a horse, sending word to his wife to forward his regimentals to Medford, and in ten minutes' time was on his way to the front, arousing volunteers at every farmhouse and hamlet. During the years following the French and Indian war, he had been active and influential in urging upon the people of his colony the necessity of military preparation, and the guns at Lexington found him ready for action.

One of the most prominent features of Stark's life is the absolute confidence reposed in him by his soldiers.

The rangers in border conflict, the militia behind the rail fence at Bunker Hill, his men leading the attack at Trenton or storming the battery at Bennington, followed Stark with an unhesitating obedience and a devoted loyalty. He was a plain, blunt man, but they knew his bravery, they believed in his military skill. When Gen. Gage was asked at Boston if the Americans would stand the assault of the royal troops, he replied they would if one John Stark were among them, for he was a brave fellow, and had served under him at Lake George in 1758 and 1759.

His rule of military action, was that battles were won by fighting, yet was his zeal tempered by prudence and forethought. When urged to move the men of his regiment forward faster at Bunker Hill, he refused to do so, saying, "one fresh man in battle is better than ten who are fatigued;" and when his men were in line and eager to attack, he made them reserve their fire "until they could see the enemies' gaiters." But when Washington was planning his desperate attack upon Trenton, Col. Stark's advice in council was, "Your men have long been accustomed to place dependence upon spades and pick for safety, but if you ever mean to establish the independence of the United States you must teach them to rely upon firearms." And to the fighting parson at Bennington who complained of inaction, he said, "If the Lord will once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come out again." And his remark later on that same day, in reference to the possible widowhood of Molly Stark, not only made a very worthy woman forever famous in American history, but displayed in an emphatic way, the keynote of Stark's character as a fighting man.

Whether his mind had received the proper training for the grand strategy of war, and the management of large masses of troops, may be an open question; but in battle where the combatants were within his view, and under the conditions of warfare existing at that day, he was a matchless leader.

In person General Stark was of medium height, well proportioned, was smoothly shaven, and of a thoughtful and somewhat

severe expression of countenance. In youth he was noted for strength, activity, and ability to endure fatigue.

With these few strokes I have endeavored to draw a portrait of the American leader at Bennington.

Of his subsequent services in the war of the Revolution, I shall say little.

As general in charge of the Northern department, with headquarters at Albany, in 1778, he was a faithful officer; as Washington's representative in New England in 1779 and 1780, soliciting recruits and supplies, the confidence placed in him by the people made success assured; as Commander-in-Chief of the Northern department in 1781, with headquarters at Saratoga, he restored order and made life and property safe, where before it had been at the mercy of bands of plunderers; and when the war was over he returned to his modest New Hampshire home, honored by all his countrymen, a true Cincinnatus, though as might be expected from our study of his character, a bitter opponent of the order of the Cincinnati.

His private life was simple and above reproach. He was considered stern and unbending. In the heat of the action at Bunker Hill, it was reported to Stark that his son was killed. He remarked to the person who brought the information that it was no time to talk of private affairs, when the enemy was in front.

Happily the report was untrue, but it illustrates the spirit of the man.

There was another and a tender side to his nature, evidenced by his great love of pets, and by his habitual use of nicknames. He bestowed one of the latter upon each member of his family, and thus his wife Elizabeth became Molly.

She died when the General was 84 years of age. At her funeral the minister in his remarks referred to the General in a complimentary manner. Rapping sharply upon the floor with his cane the old warrior said, "Tut, tut, no more of that an it please you." And as the funeral procession left the house, too feeble to accompany it, he tottered into his room, saying sadly, "Good bye, Molly, we sup no more together on earth."

Ten years later, on the 8th of March, 1822, at the age of 94, John Stark died. Above the grave of this brave, honest, incorruptible patriot, on the banks of the Merrimack, which he loved so well, stands a fitting monument, a plain shaft of New Hampshire granite, with the simple inscription:

“MAJOR-GENERAL STARK.”

THE PART TAKEN BY THE VERMONT- ERS IN THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

BY HON. G. G. BENEDICT,
President of the Vermont Historical Society.

THE infant State of Vermont was in its earliest swaddling clothes when General Burgoyne started, in June, 1777, on his famous campaign. The upper half of Vermont was then an almost unbroken wilderness. The lower half comprised a few hamlets of log houses and a few thousand settlers in widely scattered clearings. No census of the inhabitants had been taken, but there were enough of them to warrant their leaders in tendering to the Continental Congress the services of "more than five thousand hardy soldiers for the defense of American Liberty." This offer meant a man from every family—but the pledge was amply redeemed during the Revolutionary struggle.

Delegates from the towns had met in convention and had announced that the "district or territory known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants ought to be" and was thereby declared to be "a separate, free and independent State." But no State government had been organized when, on the 2nd of July, Burgoyne appeared before Ticonderoga. Upon that fortress, captured by Ethan Allen and his eighty-three Green Mountain Boys two years before, the Vermonters, and the people of all the region South of it, depended to stay the British invasion. Behind its lines, nineteen years before, Montcalm with 2,500 men had beaten back Abercrombie's army of 15,000; and as General St. Clair now had there a garrison of over 3,000 men, to

which the Vermont leaders were adding every man they could rally, it was not doubted that Ticonderoga would bar Burgoyne's progress for many days. But St. Clair stole away in the night, before a single piece of Burgoyne's artillery had reached the summit of Mount Defiance, or a cannon shot been fired by either side, leaving Robinson's regiment of Vermonters encamped outside the works unnotified of his purpose, and doomed to capture, but for the accidental discovery that the rest of the garrison had left the works.

The abandonment of Ticonderoga, followed by the serious reverse in the only battle ever fought on the soil of Vermont, at Hubbardton, where Seth Warner's costly rear-guard fight gave to Burgoyne's advance the only check by force of arms that he received between the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, caused the utmost alarm throughout the Vermont settlements,—alarm heightened by the presence for three weeks of a Hessian brigade at Castleton; by the depredations of scouting and foraging parties of the enemy, and by Burgoyne's proclaimed threats to visit the horrors of Indian warfare upon the malcontent settlers.

The duty fell to the Vermont leaders to rally from New Hampshire and Massachusetts assistance to repel invasion. If our borders, now the frontier, are not defended, they said, your towns will become the frontier. The Council of Safety, then the only government of Vermont, called out the militia and raised a new regiment of rangers. They also laid in, at Bennington, large stores of provisions to sustain the New England militia and to supply in part the Continental army, operating in front of Burgoyne in New York.

It was natural that New Hampshire should give the first and fullest response to the appeal of the Vermonters. Their territory was still known as the New Hampshire Grants, the name of Vermont having been just adopted but not widely proclaimed. The Charters of 130 of the Vermont towns bore the seals of the Governors of New Hampshire, and Governor Mesheck Weare and other prominent New Hampshire men were extensive landed proprietors in the Grants. As we know, New Hampshire sent a brigade under the brave and capable Stark. The Vermonters

knew and trusted Stark, they considered him almost a Green Mountain Boy, and many of them along the Eastern border rallied to his standard with the men of New Hampshire. Stark reciprocated the confidence reposed in him. He knew that the Green Mountain Boys would fight, and that in Colonel Warner he would have a strong and able lieutenant.

Seth Warner had succeeded Ethan Allen, then in a British prison, as the military leader of the Vermonters. Of commanding presence, six feet three in his stockings, he had shown his mettle in the reduction of St. Johns, in the fight at Longueuil, in the siege of Quebec, in command of the rear guard of Montgomery's army in his retreat from Canada, and at Hubbardton. A Bennington man, a skilled hunter and woodsman, familiar with every roadway and trail in the region around Bennington, which Stark and he alike believed would be an early object of attack, he was fitted by every quality of character, skill and experience to be, as he was, Stark's right hand man, both in the preparations for the defense of Bennington, and in the actual fight.

On the 7th of August, Warner was at Manchester, Vt., with the remnant of his own regiment, which had gathered there after their dispersal at Hubbardton. With him also was a body of some 200 or more of Herrick's Rangers just recruited, and two companies of Col. William Williams's militia regiment from the East side of the State,—in all between 450 and 500 men under arms. Stark joined him there that day, with the advance of his brigade, which had made a forced march across the mountain from the rendezvous of the New Hampshire militia at Charlestown, N. H. Leaving Warner's regiment at Manchester under the command of Lieut-Col. Safford, the two commanders passed on together to Bennington, arriving there on the 9th with some 1,200 men, which number was later swelled by two militia companies of Bennington, and a small contingent of Massachusetts troops under Col. Simonds.

It is not clear how many men took actual part under Stark in the battle of Bennington, and it is consequently uncertain what was the proportion of Vermonters to the total number engaged.

Gilmore in his "New Hampshire Men at Bennington" gives the names of 1,467 such; but it is open to doubt whether all of that number reached Bennington before the battle. Stark's brigade, as officially enrolled, numbered 1,523 officers and men, but no brigade ever brings into action the full numbers on its roster. Stark had ordered one of his companies to remain at Charlestown, to guard stores at that point, and he stationed two other companies on the height of land between the Connecticut and Otter Creek, for the security of the inhabitants. One of these companies appears to have joined Stark at Bennington before the battle. Rev. Dr. James Davie Butler, whose grandfather fought at Bennington, who visited the battle field in his youth and manhood and drew the materials for his spirited history of the battle, printed in 1849, more largely from original sources than any other historian of his day with the possible exception of Hiland Hall, states that Stark's brigade when mustered two days before the battle had 1,332 privates on the rolls, but perhaps not more than half that number actually present, after deducting the companies detached and others weakened by sickness and desertion. Zadock Thompson, a careful historian, estimated Stark's force at 1,400, before the arrival of Warner's fragmentary regiment and Simonds's companies, which would add perhaps 300 to the total. Hiland Hall, an indefatigable investigator and fair and candid writer, says that Stark's whole force might have perhaps numbered about 1,600. Other writers have placed it as high as 2,200; but the number actually engaged probably fell considerably short of two thousand.

The incomplete Revolutionary War Rolls of Vermont soldiers, just compiled and printed by authority of the Legislature of Vermont, throw some light on the number of Vermont troops engaged at Bennington. The pay rolls that have been preserved give the names of both officers and men of one company of Herrick's Rangers, and of the privates of three other companies, amounting to 185. Adding three officers each for the three companies of which only the privates are named, we have 194 officers and men in these four companies. There was another company of Herrick's Rangers, Capt. Elisha Burton's, of which no pay roll appears to have been preserved. In Captain Elijah Dewey's

Bennington Company, we have the names of seventy-eight officers and men, and in Capt. Samuel Robinson's Bennington Company, the names of seventy-six privates. Adding the three officers of that company, we have 157 officers and men in these two companies. Of Seth Warner's regiment, there were from 140 to 150 and of Col. William Williams's regiment, probably not less than 100—a total of 591 without the missing roll of Burton's company. There were also ninety-six men, whose names we have, who enlisted in the New Hampshire regiments from Vermont towns along the Connecticut. Seven men from the one town of Newbury, Vt., enlisted in the New Hampshire militia under Stark, and so of other Vermont towns in the Connecticut Valley. The Vermonters present could not have fallen short of 650, and probably exceeded that number. They must have constituted a third or more of Stark's force.

The part of the Vermont troops in the operations at and near Bennington was as follows: On the 14th of August, they, with the exception of Warner's regiment, which remained for the time being at Manchester, marched with most of Stark's command, to meet Baum until they met Gregg, (who had been sent on the 13th with 200 New Hampshire men to check the advance of the enemy and was now retiring before a greatly superior force) when Stark withdrew his little army for a mile. There was skirmishing with the enemy that day and the next, in which some of the Vermonters may or may not have taken part. In the dispositions made by Stark and Warner in the forenoon of the 16th, Col. Herrick was sent with his Rangers and Robinson's and Dewey's companies, by a wide circuit through the woods to the rear of Baum's right, Stark and Warner accompanying them on horseback for a short distance. They got into position, in the rear of the redoubt, a little before 3 o'clock. Silas Walbridge of John Warner's company of the Rangers, says, in a manuscript statement communicated to Hiland Hall; "Just before we arrived at the redoubt, we came in sight of a party of Indians and fired on them. They retreated to the Northwest, leaving two killed. Our men came within ten or twelve rods of the redoubt and began firing from behind logs and trees, and

continued firing and advancing till the Hessians retreated out of their works."

Jesse Field, of Dewey's company, which appears to have led the way, says in a statement obtained from him by Governor Hall; "When we came in sight of the enemy's works we halted,—it seemed that the rear of our party had been detained for some cause. We stood but a short time when the firing commenced from the party on the North. In a moment our Adjutant came up and ordered us to advance. We pressed forward, and as the Hessians rose above their works to fire, we discharged our pieces at them."

While these movements were in progress, the rest of the Vermont troops present were engaged, under Stark's immediate command, in front of the enemy's works. Some details of the fighting in that quarter are given in the statement of private Thomas Mellen, taken down from his lips by Rev. Dr. Butler.

The aged veteran said that as soon as he learned that Gen. Stark was to command the troops, he hastened with six or seven others of his town of Newbury, Vt., to enlist, at Frankestown, N. H., in Capt. Clark's company of Col. Stickney's New Hampshire regiment; that he marched to Manchester with his company, and went with a scouting party down the valley of Otter Creek, in which they confiscated from some Tories a supply of rum. This was a scarce commodity in Vermont at that time, judging from Stark's appeal for a supply, to the New Hampshire Council of Safety, in which he said: "There is none of that article where we are going." This cannot be said of Vermont at the present time.

Mellen says that he had his own gun; that he received a horn of powder and ran for himself a lot of bullets; that he marched all night from Manchester through the rain, mud, and darkness, on Friday night, till at daybreak he got a short sleep on a hay mow near Bennington, after which he pushed on with others to join Stark's main body. His statement proceeds as follows:

"Stark and Warner, rode up near the enemy to reconnoitre, were fired at with cannon and came galloping back. Stark rode with shoulders bent forward, and cried out to his men: 'Those

rascals know that I am an officer; don't you see they honor me with a big gun as a salute?' We were marched round and round a circular hill till we were tired. Stark said it was to amuse the Germans. All the while a cannonade was kept up upon us from their breastwork. It hurt nobody, and it lessened our fear of the great guns." * * * "Between two and three the battle began. The Germans fired by platoons, and were soon hidden by smoke. Our men fired each on his own hook, aiming wherever they saw a flash. Few on our side had either bayonets or cartridges. The first time I fired, I put three balls into my gun. Before I had time to fire many rounds, our men rushed over the breastwork, but I and many others chased straggling Hessians in the woods."

It is to be noted that the fighting on the part of Stark's men, previous to the final rush over Baum's breastworks, was what would be classed as skirmishing. There was no moving in serried lines up the slopes of Baum's hill, and no firing by volley at the word of command on the side of the assailants. The men fought in extended order and took shelter as they could behind trees and rocks. Under such conditions, each skirmisher is in a measure a law unto himself and the success of the body depends on the courage, initiative, and skill of the individual. It is, I may be allowed to add, a species of service in which the Vermont troops have always distinguished themselves—their fame as skirmishers culminating in our civil war, when, at Funkstown, Md., on the 10th of July, 1863, a skirmish line of the First Vermont brigade, two miles long, repulsed three successive assaults in line of battle of seven Georgia regiments and held their ground after the opposing force retired.

With the storming of the redoubt and the killing or capture of most of its defenders, the successes of the day might have ended but for the timely arrival and prompt action of Warner's regiment. So many of Stark's men as were not caring for the wounded or collecting spoils in and around the redoubt, or escorting the prisoners to Bennington, were chasing flying Hessians several miles west of the redoubt, when they ran up against the advance of Breyman's Brunswickers, ignorant of Baum's defeat and hastening to support him. The pursuers halted and were

then driven back, and the fortunes of the day might have turned, when, as Gen. Stark says: "luckily for us, Col. Warner's regiment came up, which put a stop to their (the enemy's) career." The battalion of Warner's regiment under Lieut.-Col. Safford had marched all night from Manchester in the rain, had halted a short time in the morning to dry their arms, and did not reach the field of the first action, till it was over. But eager for a share in the fight, they hastened to what was now the front. Warner appears to have soon joined them in person. He encouraged his own men, rallied the others scattered here and there and the men whom Stark was pushing up from the captured redoubt, and when enough were collected, a stand was made. Breyman, who was trying to clear a way with his artillery, was attacked in front and on each flank. His cannoneers and artillery horses were shot down. He lost heavily in killed and wounded, and as night descended on the field, he was glad to make a disorderly retreat, leaving his two six-pounders behind.

For some details of this second action, I quote again from private Thomas Mellen. He says: "We pursued the Hessians until we met Breyman with eight hundred fresh troops and larger cannon, which opened fire of grape shot. Some of the grape shot riddled a Virginia fence near me, one struck a small white oak tree behind which I stood. Though it hit higher than my head, I fled from the tree, thinking it might be aimed at again. We skirmishers ran back till we met a large body of Stark's men, then faced about. I soon started for a brook I saw a few rods behind, for I had drank nothing all day, and should have died with thirst had I not chewed a bullet all the time. I had not gone a rod when I was stopped by an officer, sword in hand, and ready to cut me down as a runaway. On my complaining of thirst, he handed me his canteen, which was full of rum. I drank and forgot my thirst.

"But the enemy outflanked us, and I said to a comrade 'we must run or they will have us.' He said: 'I will have one more fire first.' At that moment a Major on a black horse rode along behind us, shouting: 'fight on boys; reinforcements close by.' While he was yet speaking, a grape shot went through his horse's head and knocked out two teeth. It bled a good deal, but the

Major kept his seat and spurred on to encourage others. In five minutes we saw Warner's men hurrying to help us. They opened right and left of us, and half of them attacked each flank of the enemy, and beat back those who were just closing around us. Stark's men now took heart and stood their ground. My gun-barrel was by this time too hot to hold, so I seized the musket of a dead Hessian, in which my bullets went down easier than in my own. Right in front were the cannon, and seeing an officer on horseback waving his sword to the artillery men, I fired at him twice. His horse fell. He cut the traces of an artillery horse, mounted him and rode off. I afterwards heard that that officer was Major Skeene.

"Soon the Germans ran and we followed. Many of them threw down their guns on the ground, or offered them to us, or kneeled, some in puddles of water. One said to me: *wir sind ein, bruder*. I pushed him behind me and rushed on. All those near me did so. The enemy beat a parley, minded to give up, but our men did not understand it. I came to one wounded man, flat on the ground, crying water, or quarter. I snatched his sword out of his scabbard, and while I ran on and fired, carried it in my mouth, thinking I might need it. The Germans fled by the road and in a wood each side of it. Many of their scabbards caught in the brush and held the fugitives till we seized them. We chased them till dark. Colonel Johnston, of Haverhill, wanted to chase them all night. Had we done so, we might have mastered them all, for they stopped within three miles of the battle field. But Stark, saying he would run no risk of spoiling a good day's work, ordered a halt and return to quarters. I was coming back, when ordered by Stark himself, (who knew me, as I had been one of his body guard in Canada) to help draw off a field piece. I told him I was worn out. His answer was: 'don't seem to disobey; take hold, and if you can't hold out, slip away in the dark.' Before we had dragged the gun far, Warner rode near us. Some one pointing to a dead man by the wayside, said to him: 'your brother is killed.' 'Is it Jesse?' asked Warner; and when the answer was 'yes,' he jumped off his horse, stooped and gazed in the dead man's face and then rode away without saying a word. On my way back I got

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the belt of the Hessian whose sword I had taken in the pursuit. I also found a barber's pack, but was obliged to give up all my findings till the booty was divided. To the best of my remembrance, my share was four dollars and some odd cents. One tory with his left eye shot out, was led by me mounted on a horse who had also lost his left eye. It seems cruel now—it did not then."

As regards efficiency of service at Bennington it is safe to say that the Vermonters were not much behind the troops of the other States. They were fighting in the immediate defense of their homes and property. They were smarting under the defeat and deaths of their brothers at Hubbardtown. Most of them had their own guns and they knew how to use them.

Major Bartlett, of the Amoskeag Veterans, was good and jocular enough to say, at the dedication of the battle monument at Bennington, August 16, 1877: "New Hampshire and Massachusetts claim to have done substantially all the fighting, although we generously concede that a man by the name of Warner, Seth, I believe, and some of his neighbors, did call around late and help rake after." But evidence is not wanting to show that the Vermonters did something besides "rake after."

Other things being equal, the lists of casualties in an engagement commonly indicate what troops were most actively engaged. Gen. Stark reported to the New Hampshire Council, two days after the battle, "Our wounded are forty-two—ten privates and four officers belonging to my brigade, one dead. The dead and wounded in the other corps I do not know, as they have not brought in their returns." Such returns as were made at the time, of the losses in the Vermont regiments, have not been preserved, and the facts must be sought from other sources. In a hurried examination of the town histories of towns in Bennington County, I find that four men, Nathan Clark, John Fay, Henry Walbridge and Daniel Warner, of Bennington; three men Thomas Comstock, ———— Cobin (Edward Corbin?) and ———— Allen of Sunderland, and Abel Benedict of Arlington, were killed in the battle of Bennington. In the brief time allowed me for the preparation of this paper, I have been able to make no search in the histories of other Vermont towns. But

here are eight men of Bennington County killed; and as not over a third of the Vermonters present were from that county, a like ratio of killed for all the Vermont troops engaged, would make over half of the forty killed, which is the largest number given by any writer. It is stated that it was to Lieut. Thomas Jewett, of Captain Dewey's Bennington Company, that Col. Baum yielded his sword, within the redoubt; Jonathan Armstrong, of Dorset, Vt., received the surrender of Col. Pfister, the Hoosick loyalist, who commanded at "the tory breastworks," so called; and took him from the works on his back, Pfister being wounded.*

I digress from my special subject here, to note a somewhat singular substitution of fiction for fact which has been much copied in the later accounts of the Battle of Bennington. I refer to the so called "Glich Narrative." The first reference to this that I have found, was in Rev. J. D. Butler's address, delivered before the Legislature of Vermont in October, 1848. In 1870, the Glich account appeared in the first volume of the Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, under the title: "Account of the Battle of Bennington by Glich, a German officer who was in the engagement under Baum." Only the surname of the alleged officer is given, his rank is not mentioned, nor is there any note or word telling where or how his account was obtained. There were suspicious features in the account itself. For instance, Glich describes an explosion within the redoubt of a tumbril containing all of Baum's spare ammunition, which "blew up with a violence which shook the very ground," and to this loss of ammunition Glich ascribes the loss of the redoubt. Now it is incredible that an event of this importance could have occurred and no mention be made of it in the official reports and descriptions of the action at the redoubt, as given by eye witnesses of the battle on two sides. But it appears only in the Glich narrative.

In spite, however, of these and other suspicious features of this Glich account, it passed muster for over fifty years, and is

*Mr. Benedict here exhibited Col. Baum's sword, which has been preserved by the descendants of David Robinson, of Bennington, who purchased it after the battle, in which he took part, and through the courtesy of Miss Carrie H. Robinson and George A. Robinson, of Bennington, and Mr. Herman Robinson of San Francisco, permission was given to bring it to the meeting.

cited by almost every writer who has undertaken to describe the Battle of Bennington during the past half century.

A few years ago the discovery was made that the Glich narrative had been taken bodily from an English novel! The author of the novel was Rev. George Robert Gleig, an English clergyman, who was in the British service in this country in the War of 1812, and afterward wrote a series of tales of military life, which were published in three volumes, in England, in 1829, under the title of "The Chelsea Pensioners." The tales are for the most part yarns of adventures and fightings and escapes, which some old pensioners tell to wide eyed auditors, to arouse their wonder and pass away the time. One of the tales is entitled "Saratoga," and has for its hero a Captain Macdirk, who relates his experiences in Burgoyne's campaign. In chapter IV of the story he describes the battle of Bennington. The Glich narrative is the fictitious Macdirk's account, copied entire. I have compared Glich, both with the English publication, and with an American reprint of the tale of "Saratoga," which was published in Philadelphia in 1833, in "Waldie's Circulating Library," a serial devoted to tales and travels, and have found them to be the same, word for word, one or two evidently typographical errors excepted. As originally written, the chapter was a pretty fair piece of fiction, founded in part on facts accessible to every student of Burgoyne's campaign, to which, with a novelist's privilege, Mr. Gleig added many fictitious details to heighten the effect and commend the tale to English readers.

As the publishing committee and the editor of the volume of the Vermont Historical Society's collections, containing the Glich paper, were all dead before its spurious character was discovered, it has been impossible to learn where they obtained it. Rev. Dr. Butler, who is enjoying a vigorous old age at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, informs me, however, that according to his recollection and belief, the Glich paper was among a number of manuscripts relating to the Battle of Bennington, which were sent to him for his use in preparing his address, in 1848, by the late Henry Stevens, long known as "The Vermont Antiquarian." If this was so, as it doubtless was, the editor of the

Vermont Historical Society's Collections probably obtained the paper from Mr. Stevens. That industrious collector of Vermont manuscripts and documents sold his Vermont papers to the New York State Library in 1875. These papers have never been fully indexed; but repeated search among them has disclosed no Glich manuscript. Having been printed by the Vermont Historical Society it was perhaps not thought to be worth selling to the New York State Library; or it may have been withheld from sale for other reasons. The manuscript from which it was printed cannot be found among the papers of the Vermont Historical Society.

The name Glich, it may be added, was an invention, as well as his narrative. The rolls of the Hessian officers under Baum, as preserved in manuscript and in print at Albany, contain no such name as "Glich," or anything like it.

A possible explanation of this curious transformation of a chapter in a novel into a historical document may be that one of Mr. Henry Stevens's sons who was in England in the business of collecting books and manuscripts, noticed the Battle of Bennington chapter in the story of "Saratoga," and sent a manuscript copy of it to his father, with the heading "Account of the Battle of Bennington by Gleig;" that the name of Gleig carelessly written, became *Glich* in this or a subsequent copy; and that this name having a German sound, Mr. Stevens jumped to the conclusion that the writer was a German officer under Baum, and having labelled it accordingly included the copy among his genuine manuscripts. I prefer some such surmise as this to the supposition that the Glich narrative was a deliberate fraud. Be that as it may, I submit that it is about time that the fabulous Glich ceased to be cited as an eye witness and historian of the Battle of Bennington.

Returning to authentic sources of history, General Burgoyne, in his "Review of the Evidence" before the Committee of Parliament, made it plain that he gave to Baum two sets of instructions, one in writing intended to mislead any persons through whom information might be conveyed to the enemy; the other verbal and confidential, given to Baum in person, and instruct-

ing him as to the real object of the expedition. "It is begging the question" said Burgoyne, "to argue that Bennington was not the real original object (of the expedition) because Bennington was not mentioned in the draft of instructions. A man must indeed be devoid of military and political address to put upon paper a critical design, when surprise was in question and everything depended on secrecy."

General Burgoyne probably knew where he was sending Baum, and he says it was to Bennington, to seize the "great deposit of corn, flour, and store cattle" at that point. He calls it over and over again "the Expedition to Bennington," the "scheme to surprise Bennington," "the attempt upon Bennington," and similar phrases. The entire expedition went as near to Bennington as it could get, and a large part of it entered Bennington as prisoners of war. The arrangements for the battle were made at Bennington; the prisoners and spoils were taken thither; and for such and other reasons, it may not be easy to disconnect Bennington with the history of the battle, or to change its time-honored title. That title was not, so far as I know, preempted by the Vermonters. The engagement was called "The Battle of Bennington" by Gov. Clinton of New York, in a letter to the Council of Safety, six days after the battle. It was called "The Victory at Bennington" by the Congress in the resolutions of thanks to Stark and his men, and the title has been adopted by the great majority of historians and writers who have alluded to the subject from that day to this. And though it is the fact that the nearest part of Baum's lines was 183 rods from the border line of Bennington, the name may still remain the Battle of Bennington, as Waterloo is Waterloo though not fought at Waterloo, and Monmouth is Monmouth, though only fought near Monmouth, and the Battle of Bunker Hill retains its name though it was fought at Breed's Hill.

That the Vermonters' share in the battle and the victory was a considerable share, was recognized at the time by the Generals on both sides, as by many others. Stark in his report to Major General Gates, said that "Col. Warner's superior skill in the action" had been of the greatest service to him, and that he would be glad if Warner and his men could be recommended to

Congress. He acknowledges the great service rendered to him by the Vermont Council of Safety in rallying troops, and in other ways, and he distributed the trophies of the victory in equal proportions to the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont,—a Hessian sword, musket, drum and cap to each.

The Congress of the United States, at a later day, recognized the service rendered by Vermont in a joint resolution, passed July 10, 1848, directing "that two brass field pieces, captured from the enemy at the Battle of Bennington in the year 1777, now in the possession of the United States, be immediately well mounted under the direction of the Secretary of War, and be delivered to the Governor of Vermont, to be hereafter holden as the property of said State." The guns are so holden to this day, at the State Capitol of Vermont.

As for Burgoyne, it is evident that he somehow obtained a lively sense of the importance of the part the Vermonters had taken against him. He constantly couples Warner with Stark in his Narrative and Review of the Evidence, and mentions no other officers as leaders of the troops opposed to him. And it was of the Vermonters that he wrote, while smarting under the failure of his expedition; "The New Hampshire Grants, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the Continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left." It was a storm that continued to gather strength from then on, till it burst in disaster and surrender, for Burgoyne, at Saratoga.

FORT TICONDEROGA RESTORED.

BY ELIZABETH WATROUS.

DEAR friends, you have hypnotized me to a vocal echo of your own sentiments, no lesser power could order me to stand on professional ground.

Women should be seen, not heard.

Men would have all women born beautiful but mute. I am strong on the male side in this.

However, there is no law to prevent a woman whispering a suggestion, for two ideas are better than one, and women usually have that second idea.

My suggestion is that this society *make* history as well as chronicle it.

We are a splendid young association. We have a fat list of members and an enviable staff of executive officers and scholars. We read carefully papers of what "the other fellow" did. I am jealous of "the other fellow."

We read how "that other fellow" cracked an egg and discovered America, fought the Indians, fought his neighbors, tossed nations back and forth, till tiring of his amusement, he pushed off every one but himself and settled down into a peaceful citizen. A community of farms and factories was the result of that settling. We are of that community and in our midst is a beloved farm and historical factory, dear old Fort Ticonderoga.

Its wheels have churned into history's hopper, the most famous of military names. Its sluices have run with the blood of the most valorous. Its cylinders have heated the first victory for American independence.

No factory has ground the past with deeds of greater import. No farm raised cereals to strengthen firmer reliance. No soil

produced such bone and sinew as set the will and muscles of those men of men.

Almost we can touch the scenes with finger tips of inheritance, yet, through incredible neglect its stage lies in ruins, a floor of acts that should be writ in gold upon the nation's soul.

Alas, cattle are trampling the land marks, and a passing generation, in thoughtlessness and ignorance have pilfered its walls to build new factories. Now that they understand, I am positive not a man, woman, child, or grandchild but would gladly restore those blocks to their original foundations, even though they did so on their hands and knees.

Silent, patient, majestic, crippled! The very pathos of her present setting must challenge a nation's birthright. Respected by the great and few, neglected by the less and many; but to the few she stands aloof.

Washington, in reverence, left his army at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson to make a pilgrimage in comprehensive appreciation, to this shrine of America's first victory for independence. Ticonderoga! Ticonderoga! the music of its name! Ticonderoga!

Presumption pales to review the list of spirit names, taught with Our Lord's Prayer at the parent's knee.

In all the world, there's nothing equals this first history of the country of the world. Yet we do naught to preserve this heirloom site to our children!

A Park! A Park! A National Park, and in its center, the good old Fort again erect. A fortress where growing generations can laugh and shout glad anthems to its fame.

The country has been generous in the giving of parks, it is generous, it will be generous. The need is pressing if we would save the pitiful remainder of the present walls. I have elected myself bondsman for her safety and feel my mission sacred.

Years ago a maiden working in the fields saw a vision and understood. In comprehensive awe, entranced she sought the prince, who covering her in mail, placed her upon a charger, and bade her "go" and his legions follow. She led them on to victory.

Perhaps I am particularly intimate with the success of individual enterprise. My brother has recently won a concession

in Italy, and is at present excavating works of past art, to give to our new world of art. A friend is doing the same in Asia Minor. This friend while traveling in the Orient was shown a superb stretch of land, and told that there was the site of the romantic town of ancient Syzicus. Being a fine historian, he was keenly alive to the meaning of what lay before him, and with lordly pose he put his hand in his pocket and bought the whole city. Now hundreds of his workmen are restoring priceless treasures to their original settings.

Mithridates looking down upon the ruins of Syzicus wept. We, looking over the ruins of our beloved Fort weep, but through our tears we plainly see the grandeur of its restoration.

The immediate necessity of preserving what still remains is obvious. Sad slices of mural elevations threaten to totter after their sister heaps already lying prone

It has come under my personal observation during one short visit to the grounds and fort, no less than four bands of tourists, forty to fifty strong, have in their brief time chipped bits of stone and scales of mortar to the full of great baskets from standing walls as relics for careless souvenirs. Consider 4 times 365 annual attacks of scissors, hairpins, eye glasses, knives, tooth picks and nail cleaners, multiplied by the number of years since St. Clair's evacuation and you have a destructive power equal to razing a whole city to the ground. Such devastation, can only be modified by watchfulness of a guardian, even so, ever impervious to insistant bribery. Could I afford desire, I should house the entire ruin from our destructive frosts and snows.

The Coliseum and Pyramids have withstood the waste of climate, because unassailed by our corrosive forces.

Nature jealously covers her historical eras beneath layers of earth. Thus only, by excavation of her buried fossils, and petrefactions, are we able to determine data.

This lesson is emblematically good, our fortress walls must be covered with a mail of love making an imperishable mortar that will defy the hunger of the elements.

England has spent millions in the construction of Fort Ticonderoga and its entrenchments, pitiful it is that we, her offspring, cannot spare a few thousand for its preservation.

Europe, Asia, Africa, graft forests of monuments along the paths of their heroes.

Now dear associates help me complete the circle of a third successful enterprise.

Under our Articles of Incorporation we have as fifth object, the right "To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places." Good! now to work.

Frank B. Wicks in his monograph on Fort Ticonderoga, read at the third meeting of the Historical Association, asks the question, "Shall its ruined walls be restored?"

I answer, They shall! Their preservation shall be our law. I deem it a privilege to suggest the dignity of being the chosen one to restore America's first victory mark.

Unmeasured glory it should be, to sanction the reconstruction of this kingdom of the past. And when that pen writes out the order, the land will sound a name with those of Washington and Lincoln.

IN MEMORIAM. DR. DANIEL C. FARR.

BY HON. GRENVILLE M. INGALSBIE.

DANIEL C. FARR, the First Vice-President of this Association, one of its incorporators, and from its organization, a Trustee and the Chairman of its Committee on Program, died at his residence in Glens Falls, New York, on December 15th 1903, at the age of fifty-six years. With a single exception this Association is more indebted to Dr. Farr than to any other person, for its existence, and for the measure of success which it has attained. It is therefore fitting that, at its first meeting after the passing of his forceful and dignified personality, it should place upon permanent record, a brief expression of its appreciation of his character and service.

Dr. Farr was of New England ancestry. His paternal grandfather was a soldier of the Revolution. It was his high privilege to be born and reared in a New England village, then, even more than now, an ideal dwelling place, around which cluster, as nowhere else, the incentives and impulses which tend to the nurture of virile individuality, and the development of the highest forms of ethical and spiritual life. He received his preparatory education in his home Academy at Ashby, Massachusetts, and in the Lawrence Academy at Groton. These schools were fairly representative of those country academies scattered widely through New England during the early and middle decades of the last century, which did so much to advance the cause of sound learning, high thinking and good citizenship. The impress made upon him by his home, neighborhood and preparatory school life was indelible. To the end he was a New Englander in its truest and noblest sense.

In the selection of his college, he was no less fortunate than in his earlier environment. His choice fell upon Williams, in the days of Mark Hopkins. The four years which he spent at the feet of this Prince of Teachers and most lovable of men, in the beautiful Berkshire Village of Williamstown, breathing the literary atmosphere which surrounded this conservator of the tried and traditional in education, determined his life work, and he chose teaching as his vocation, making ample reservations, however, of strength and power for efforts upon other fields of mental activity.

Graduating in 1872 with the trend of his future work clearly defined, he was confronted as to the location of his field of labor by one of the most serious and important problems which the young collegian is forced to meet. Dr. Farr never regretted his solution of this problem, while the people composing the communities located along the Great Carrying Place are profoundly thankful. It is not among the least of the obligations which this vicinity is under to that Nestor among educators, the honored Senior of our Board of Trustees, that it was through his efforts that Daniel C. Farr's attention was favorably attracted to Fort Edward, and that his first engagement there was secured. After a few years, during which he was successively a member of the faculty of the Fort Edward Collegiate Institute; the Principal of the Union Free School and the Principal of his private school, the Island Grove, he removed to Glens Falls, assuming charge of the Academy, to the upbuilding and maintenance of which, he devoted the remainder of his life. Thus in these two favored villages on the Upper Hudson, he toiled ceaselessly for thirty-one full and fruitful years, respected, honored, loved; dying, to our dimmed, uncertain vision, too early, in the full maturity of his powers, in the prime of middle manhood, with his chosen work as near and dear as ever, to hand and head and heart.

As a student at preparatory school and at college, he was a lover of history. As the years passed he devoted more and more time to its study and teaching. This was owing in part to his surroundings; his home was upon one of those historic warpaths over which, successively, aborigine and white man; Frenchman

and Briton; the soldiers of King George, and the American Patriots had grappled for the mastery, but largely to an ever widening mental grasp, and a constantly increasing interest in the welfare and advancement of his fellowmen. His unselfish devotion, his contagious enthusiasm, and his compelling personality, inspired in his students a genuine love of history, and its cognate subjects in their higher and broader aspects.

As a teacher, he dealt with his students as individuals. He believed in education, through work, not play. He was himself vigorous, earnest, indefatigable, and he required and usually secured, cheerful, zealous work, from his pupils. To them he devoted his splendid attainments, freely and unreservedly. He inspired them with his own ardent love of research, reasoning and reflection, and directed their attention to the substance, rather than the form. He was a builder of character, and labored for the systematic development of true and noble manhood and womanhood, as the necessary safeguards of the family and the state. He taught his students not to be content with mere attainment, the passing of examinations, but to strive for the higher culture demanded by the responsibilities of American citizenship and the complexities of modern life.

Dr. Farr's best thought was given to his life work, but this did not narrow his sympathies, or weaken his efforts, along other lines. He was more than a mere teacher of the schools. He identified himself thoroughly with the life of his community, seeking to energize and uplift. He regarded the exercise of the privileges of citizenship as a sacred duty, and in its discharge, he was absolutely fearless. He was so honest and conscientious, that to be in a minority of one possessed no terrors. He was a lover of his government and his country,—a government of law, under the constitution untainted by imperialism or absolutism,—a country such as Lowell loved, in which the ideas of the Founders should be forever dominant. He believed in the nation as a moral entity. To him the goal of history was the crystalization of the highest political ideals into national life. He considered that the complete attainment of these ideals was possible, if toward them were constantly and intelligently directed, the toil and conflict of humanity.

He regarded the school simply as one of the agencies in the evolution of Man. The Home, the School, the Church constituted the Trinity of forces through the harmonious operation of which he confidently foresaw the upbuilding of the race. Particularly was he insistent as to the Home. Its work he considered primal, and its influence vital. The feature of the outlook which perhaps during the later years of his life caused him the most uneasiness were certain signs which are widely interpreted as showing the decadence of the American Home. Of the ultimate result he had not the slightest doubt, but his serene confidence did not lead him to minimize the gravity of many popular tendencies. He realized that to meet them successfully the best thought, the most scientific and enlightened methods, and the most thorough organization was necessary.

One of the latest articles, and perhaps the last production from Dr. Farr's pen, was a notable contribution to one of the educational journals of the country, dealing with this aspect of the situation. It was the result of mature reflection, and many conferences with his friends and educational co-laborers. Throughout it bears testimony to the spirit of work, the manly vigor, the innate cheerfulness, the courage, the love of humanity, and the intense optimism of the author. Premising that no century had ever left more unsolved problems to its successor, than the nineteenth, he divided these problems into five great classes or departments, and in this order: The Home; The School; The Church; The State and Business. Assuming that existing Universities and Institutions of learning were fully occupied in the solution of their own distinctive problems, he suggests a plan by which a suitable number of our wisest men may be released from narrower spheres of work; placed in position of absolute independence, and given the opportunity to devote their undivided attention to questions dealing with the well-being of society. This plan he then proceeds to elaborate, proposing the establishment of an endowment by philanthropists, of at least twenty million dollars, as a foundation for a school of sociological research. This school would be composed of five faculties, one for each of the departments already named. Each faculty would consist of at least five specialists, so well paid that the school

would have the benefit of their entire time and thought, while their conclusions would be published for the benefit of the world. These faculties and their individual members, as well, were to be absolutely free from the influence of any man or aggregation of men. After enumerating a large number of questions already awaiting such treatment, as trained, unsubsidized specialists could give them, he closes with these words: "There are many men of power in this intelligent country, and to these do we especially look to urge forward by pen and voice the establishment of an enterprise so beneficent."

These are Dr. Farr's last words to us, upon whom it devolves to take up his unfinished work, and to carry it forward, not perhaps in his sanguine, masterly way, but as best we can.

Dr. Farr was an idealist, but his idealism was not that of the mere dreamer. It was dominated by the impassioned fervor of the consecrated Knight. He was an optimist, but his optimism did not lull to inactivity. It was rather a call to strife on those peaceful fields of human endeavor, upon which the world's greatest victories are won. He was a man of intense convictions and he had the courage of every one. But they did not dim his vision, affect the sanity of his conclusions, or turn him from his life-long quest of truth.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FROM AN ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW

BY MRS. F. C. SCOVILLE.

“THE war which rent away the North American colonies from England is of all subjects in history the most painful for an Englishman to dwell upon. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly and it was concluded in disaster and shame. But the contemplation of it cannot be evaded by the historian however much it may be abhorred.”—(*Creasy*.)

For the most part the English historian writes of this contest not only with fairness and a freedom from partisan bitterness not always to be found in our own earlier writers, but he “deplores the passionate and declamatory rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence which has left its stain on the political writing and oratory of America, and wishes that ‘the birth of a great nation had not been screamed into the world after this fashion’.” There is also substantial humanity of opinion on the part of English writers that the course of events tended toward a separate political existence for the American provinces and that no policy on the part of Great Britain, no matter how mild and liberal could long have delayed this natural consummation.

The limits of this paper do not admit of the taking up of the subject in detail. I shall simply try to show what answer is given by eminent English writers of to-day and yesterday to these three questions:

1. How was the War of Independence begun?
2. Why was it prolonged?
3. What finally brought it to a close favorable to the Americans?

1. *How was the war begun?*

A writer of a British history for schools (in Canada) calls the period from the Stamp Act (1765) to Lexington (1775) "ten years of wordy strife, after which actual war began." We may begin then with this "wordy strife" and consider as participating in it on the English side the king and the ministry, the parliament and the English people.

George III was at this time (1765) twenty-seven years old and had been five years king of "the foremost nation in the world." He is said by his English biographers to have been defective in education, devoid of statesmanlike qualities, obstinate and bigoted to the last degree, and completely ruled by his mother, "a cruel, clever, domineering woman." Thackeray says he reasoned in this way, "I wish nothing but good, therefore every man who disagrees with me is a traitor and a scoundrel," and adds that nine-tenths of the tyranny of this world has been perpetrated by persons believing themselves to be in the right. In March, 1765, the king was suffering from the first attack of his subsequent insanity, and the Stamp Act, which Lecky calls "one of the most momentous legislative acts in the history of mankind" was signed by a commission in his behalf.

Macaulay characterizes the Grenville ministry as the worst since the Revolution (of 1688) and classes Grenville's public acts under two heads, "outrages on the liberty of the people and outrages on the dignity of the crown." According to Grenville's reasoning the debt left by the Seven Year's War had been incurred in defence of the colonies and must be paid, in part at least, by them, while they must assist in future in providing for their own defence. This reasoning resulted in three measures: the enforcement of the trade laws, the Stamp Act and the Quartering Act. These three measures, Lecky says produced the American Revolution. Ludlow, however, naively calls attention to the fact that some of the measures most obnoxious to the colonists were passed under the administration of Pitt, to whom several of the colonies had been voting statutes.

So far as the mass of the English people were concerned they cared little or nothing about the affairs of the American colonies

for the reason that they knew nothing of them. It took from one to three months for a petition from the American Congress to reach the English Parliament and the publishing of the debate upon it was prohibited by law. When a member of parliament could speak in a state paper of the "Island of New England" why should a country gentlemen be expected to know anything about Boston?

But between the American leaders on one side and the king and ministry on the other the "wordy strife" went on. In 1775 measures for coercing the colonies were carried in the House of Lords by a vote of nearly 3 to 1 and in the Commons by nearly 4 to 1. To Horace Walpole, the wit and satirist, the conduct of the ministry seemed "like that of pert children who have thrown a pebble at a mastiff and are surprised he is not frightened." When words gave place to blows at Lexington and Bunker Hill "actual war" began.

2. *Why was the war prolonged?*

Some of the reasons assigned by English historians for the prolonging of the war are: the difficulty experienced by England in bringing, at so great a distance, an adequate force to bear upon so extended a country; the disagreements in the colonies themselves; the incapacity of the English generals; and the obstinacy of the king.

English writers divide the war into two periods separated by the French Alliance. In the first the struggle is only between the mother country and her revolted colonies and hostilities are confined, for the most part, to the continent of America. In the second, France, Spain and Holland are engaged in it and warfare extends to all parts of the world. From the beginning great difficulty was experienced by England in raising troops to serve in America, and the king was reduced to the humiliating necessity of asking for foreign assistance to subdue his own subjects. It was sought from many quarters; from Holland, from Russia and from Prussia. It was obtained at last from the little sovereigns of Germany, who were willing to sell their subjects to England to fight in a quarrel in which they had no possible concern. Frederick the Great is said to have marked his opinion of

the transaction by claiming to levy on the hired troops that passed through his dominions the same duty as on so many head of cattle. "The finest army which England was able to put into the field during the entire struggle surrendered at Saratoga."

Accustomed as we are to look upon the Revolutionary war as the united struggle of an oppressed people for the great principle of constitutional liberty, it gives us something of a shock to find that to the English it had much the appearance of a "mere money dispute."

The nobility and beauty of the character of Washington are everywhere recognized, the ability and public spirit of many of the other leaders commended, and the superiority in intelligence and skill of the rank and file of the American soldiery over the peasants composing the British army is admitted. But we are told that while the American army displayed abundant courage and energy, there was very little subordination, discipline or self-sacrifice; that personal jealousies and quarrels about rank and pay were incessant. One writer says, "They had nothing of that passionate enthusiasm which raises men to heroic heights of self devotion. Such a spirit is never evoked by mere money disputes. They were very different men from those who defended the walls of Leyden or immortalized the field of Bannockburn. Few of the great pages of history are less marked by the stamp of heroism than the American Revolution." Another writer says, "Americans of the present day do themselves injustice by the extravagant manner in which they idealize their past." There can be no doubt that the number of "loyalists," or as we call them "tories," was well up in the thousands. Lecky thinks it below the truth to say that fully one half of the Americans of the better class were openly or secretly "loyalists." It is a matter of undisputed record that after the war the "claims" of these "loyalists" were satisfied by England by annuities, half pay, grants of land, patronage and finally (in 1790) by the distribution of about \$15,000,000. When we consider that when drafting for the local militia began a hundred deserters appeared monthly in the British camp in New York, and that the number doubled when the press for soldiers for the continental army began; that when Washington's army were starving the English

were being fêted in the city of Philadelphia; that of Clinton's army in the South nearly half were "loyalists;" we need not wonder that England believed firmly in the final ascendancy of the peace party and reunion with the mother country, and that English writers maintain that but for the intervention of France this would have been the outcome of the war. The king constantly declared his determination to subdue the revolt and prevent the dismemberment of the empire.

To no one cause is the prolonging of the war, especially in its earlier stages, more generally attributed than to the incapacity of the English generals. The "utter lack of military capacity in Gage," who lost at Bunker Hill a thousand men in capturing a position which for months he might have occupied any day without resistance; the negligence and delay which made the evacuation of Boston necessary; the "amazing incapacity" of Sir William Howe, who knew the military profession from books, but who showed not one gleam of energy or originality in the Jersey campaign, are set forth with the utmost frankness. The Prime Minister, Lord North, said, "I do not know whether our generals will frighten the enemy, I *do* know they frighten me whenever I think of them."

3. *What brought the war to a close favorable to the Americans?*

The answer in one word from the English side is,—the French Alliance.

From the time of the French Alliance the character of the war was wholly changed. Every grievance the Americans had put forward as a reason for taking up arms had been redressed; every claim they had resented had been abandoned; and the English parliament had surrendered all right of internal legislation. It was, they say, no longer a war for self-taxation and constitutional liberty. It was now an attempt, with the assistance of France and Spain, to establish independence by breaking up and ruining the British empire. When the treaty between France and the American Congress was concluded England and France were at war. The moment was one of the most terrible in English history. One army was a prisoner in America, and Congress

had resolved not to fulfil the terms made at Saratoga which obliged them to send it back to England. The great bulk of the English troops were confined in Philadelphia and New York; it was no longer possible to hire German troops; and in these circumstances, England, already exhausted by a war which its distance made peculiarly terrible, had to confront France, and later Spain and Holland, with Russia, Sweden and Denmark in "armed neutrality." England had not an ally in the world. Her navy was but half prepared; her troops barely sufficient to resist invasion; her generals incapable; her ministers untrustworthy and her king of unsound mind. One writer says that the English nation at large had never realized the nature of the struggle; when it did it refused to carry it on. The humiliating spectacle of a foreign fleet commanding the English channel was a convincing argument for abandoning America.

The surrender at Yorktown virtually ended the war. For the second time a whole British army became prisoners, the soldiers of the Americans, the seamen of the French. A month later the news reached England. The Prime Minister "received it as he would a bullet through his breast." The king, true to his nature, never flinched. Two days later in opening parliament he reiterated his resolution "to preserve America to the empire."

A member of the English parliament in recent times says, "The more we look into the events of this war the more it resolves itself into a duel between two men who never saw each other in the flesh,—Washington and George III. Take Washington out of the history and it is impossible to conceive of American success. Take George III out of the history on the other side, and it is beyond question that if the war had ever broken out, it would have been put a stop to long before its ultimate failure. Between these two men equally sincere, equally resolute,—but the one reasoning like the madman he was to be, from false premises and justifying himself in imposing the dictates of his self will on every minister he might employ, the other, clear-sighted, without delusion, able to hold himself always in check for the sake of his cause,—the issue of the contest could not be doubtful. From that contest the one emerged as the mad king who threw away

half a continent from England; the other as the father of the American nation."

England's latest great historian, John Richard Green, has in his "History of the English People" a celebrated chapter on the American Revolution. It gives a present day view of the situation from which I quote this passage:

"Whatever might be the importance of American independence in the history of England, it was of unequaled moment in the history of the world. It crippled for a while the supremacy of the English nation, it founded a supremacy of the English race. From the hour of American independence the life of the English people has flowed not in one current but in two; and while the older has shown little signs of lessening, the younger has risen to a greatness which has changed the face of the world. It is already the main branch of the English people; and in the days that are at hand, the main current of that people's history must run along the channel not of the Thames or the Mersey, but of the Hudson and the Mississippi."

THE FAMILY OF WASHINGTON.

BY MRS. E. R. SAWYER.

I N that mysterious land of the far orient where most things seem to us strangely upside down, it is, we are told, the custom when one arrives at distinction to confer nobility upon his ancestors. While this cannot be the case in the Washington family research among the ancestral lines of our great American hero is an attractive pursuit, and interest in them may be greater than if he had left descendants. Although Washington wrote that in his opinion the history of his forebears was of small moment, that he had time to pay it little attention and certainly no man needs such blazonry less, it is a pleasure to the children of the country of his love as time goes on to know that his pedigree was an honorable and honored one, though genealogists report no drop of royal blood as flowing in his patriotic veins. We have had many biographies of the father of his country. Many myths have accumulated about his memory and critics have arisen to tell how even this transcendent career might have been improved. But we have to-day in our minds, a Washington, grand, solemn, impressive, a stately hero, dignified, wise and pure, infinitely superior to the carpings and envies of smaller minds. Silent and reserved he may have been but never cold or dry. His family life shows that beneath the warrior, president, man of affairs, was a strong, human, vigorous, nature, in whose veins ran warm, red blood, and whose heart throbbed with strong passions, and deep sympathies. When his words, deeds, and true history are known it must be acknowledged he was "The noblest figure that ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life." The Washington family is of ancient English stock, and has been traced to the century succeeding the conquest. At that time it was in possession of landed

estates, and manorial privileges such as were enjoyed only by those or the descendants of those who had come from Normandy with the conqueror or fought under his standard.

When William laid waste the country north of the Humber he apportioned his estates among his followers and advanced them to the principal dignities. One of the most wealthy and important was the See of Durham. The diocese was erected into a palatinate, and a learned and noble native of Lorraine was made bishop, and count palatine. Among the knights who held estates in the palatinate was William de Hertburn the progenitor of the Washingtons. His Norman name of William indicates his national descent. The surname Hertburn was taken from the village which he held of the Bishop in knight's fee.

It had become the custom among the Norman families of rank to take surnames from their estates or castles, and when William de Hertburn exchanged the village of Hertburn for the village or manor of Wessyington the family surname became de Wessyington.

The conditions of military service were often exacting, and service in the hunt was not merely an idle form. Hunting ranked next to war, and the clergy engaged in it equally with the laity. The stipulations with the Lord of Wessyington show how strictly the rights of the chase were defined, all the game taken by him in going to the forest belonged to the bishop, all in returning, to him. Seventy years later the family retained its manorial estate and in 1257 the names of Bondo de Wessyington and his son William appear on charters given to religious houses. On a list of royal knights who fought for their sovereign in the battles of Lewes in 1264 was the name of William Weshington.

In the reign of William III the De Wessyingtons still mingled in chivalrous scenes, the name of Sir Stephen appearing in a list of knights who were to tilt in a tournament at Dunstable in 1334. His device was a golden rose on an azure field. Soon, however, he was called to a sterner exercise of his arms when in 1346 Edward and his son, the Black Prince, being absent in France, England was invaded by David, King of Scotland.

Such were the stately and warlike scenes in which the De Wessyingtons participated and for more than two hundred years, they sat in the councils of the palatinate, mingled with the horse and hounds, and followed the banner of St. Cuthbert in the field. The William just mentioned was the last of the family to render this feudal service, the inheritance having passed at his death by the marriage of his daughter to Sir William Temple of Studley. Still it continued to flourish for a time in the cloisters. In 1416 John de Wessyington was elected prior of the Benedictine Convent. After divers good fights for the priory and filling the Abbot's chair for thirty years he died in the order of sanctity in 1446. By this time the De Wessyingtons had separated into various branches holding estates in different parts of England, some distinguished in the professions, some knighted for public services—the names of some are found in country histories and some on monuments in time worn churches and cathedrals. By degrees the seigniorial sign of de had disappeared before the surname which, after passing through several variations, became Washington. A little parish in the county of Durham now bears the name and was probably the ancient manor of Wessyington. The branch of the family to which our Washington belonged was that of Lawrence who in the sixteenth century was Mayor of Northhampton and received from Henry VIII the manor of Sulgrave in 1538. In the next century Robert, a rich merchant of Leeds, appears and his son Joseph a learned lawyer of Grays Inn.

About the same time we hear of Richard and Philip holding high places at Oxford. From the mayor of Northhampton descended Sir William, who married a half sister of the Duke of Buckingham; Sir Henry who made a desperate defense against the forces of Parliament in 1646; Lieut Col. James who fell fighting for King Charles. Another James who was implicated in Monmouth's rebellion fled to Holland and became the progenitor of a flourishing and successful family which has spread to Germany and there been ennobled. Henry Cabot Lodge says, "They seem to have been a successful, thrifty race, owning lands and estates, wise magistrates, good soldiers, marrying well and increasing their wealth from generation to generation." They

were knights and gentlemen in the full sense of the word. Here and there can be detected the old Norse blood carrying with it across the centuries the wild Berserker spirit which made the adventurous Northmen the terror of Europe. This strain must have reappeared in George Washington for a writer in 1797 said, "all his features are indicative of the strongest passions and it was his opinion that had he been born in the forest he would have been the fiercest man among the savages."

The armorial bearings of the family were varied and the Sulgrave arms used in Buckinghamshire, Kent, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire were those used by the American branch, being probably the original arms of the family. They are in heraldic terms, argent two bars, gules in chief, three mullets or stars of the second, crest a raven with wings endorsed proper issuing from a ducal coronet. Upon Washington's seal were four mounted continental soldiers, cannon and balls upon the ground with ships in the distance and above the legend in Latin "Having first conquered." The livery worn by his servants was scarlet and white. So strong is the resemblance of our National flag to the Washington coat of arms that a recent writer thinks "it was undoubtedly the design of General Washington." If it were *not*, good Besty Ross and her friends may have adopted the colors and emblems in compliment to him as it is certain that the component parts of the flag all appear in the Washington coat of arms. One antiquarian discovers both stars and stripes in the original shield of the De Wessyingtons, traces them down to the different colored star and stripe of the Weshyingtons—believes them more complete in the original arms of the Washingtons and finds the shield of Washington identical with the ornamental shield nationally used for decorative purposes. It is said to be true that the tablet over the gateway at the English country seat of the Washington family, now centuries old shows star and stripe placed there long before the birth of our country. One biographer represents that about fifty years before the Washingtons came to America the family removed from Sulgrave to Brington where the name is still seen on monuments in the parish church. Copies of these were presented by Earl Spencer to Charles Sumner and are now deposited in the Boston State

House. It is a notable coincidence that the ancestors of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin lived within four miles of each other in Northhamptonshire. Standing on a hill between Chelmsford and the North Sea is Curleigh Church, a quaint and picturesque landmark in the history of English Washingtons, for of this church Lawrence Washington was rector from 1632 to 1643 at which time loyalty to the Crown lost him the benefice, and overwhelmed with misfortune he found refuge in the cottage which had been placed at the disposal of the Washingtons by the master of Althorp, Sir Robert Spencer. Here he died seven years later. From this humble home seven years after their father's death passed the emigrant brothers John and Lawrence to cross the Atlantic and rebuild the family fortunes in America. As this occurred during the protectorate of Cromwell and Virginia was the favorite resort of cavaliers during that period it is probable they came from political reasons. It is said John was knighted by King James but there is no evidence that Sir John was honored by his title in this country. Both took up lands and became successful planters in the district between the Potomac and Rappahannock. Lawrence soon disappears leaving numerous descendants. John figures in colonial affairs, various incidents showing him to be an active, generous man, public spirited, hospitable, social, and friendly. He became a county officer and a colonel of militia commanding troops during the Indian war of 1675. Both his son Lawrence and grandson Augustine describe themselves in their wills as gentlemen, both were educated in England and intermarried with the gentry of Virginia. George was the eldest son of Augustine's second marriage and born at Bridges Creek in February, 1732. The home was of the primitive Virginia pattern, four rooms on the ground floor, an attic with long sloping roof and immense chimneys. Three years later this house was burned and the family removed to a similar one on the Rappahannock. In 1743 the father died leaving the care of five children and their estates to their mother who was a woman of energy and intelligence, ruling her house with strong will and firm hand. Her life could not have been one of ease for though Augustine left to each of his children landed estates they were little more than idle capital and the income was not as

evident as the acres. The traditional picture of this lonely woman daily gathering about her the orphan children and teaching them lessons of morality has ever been an impressive one.

Historians have dispelled many of the sweet myths of Washington's boyhood, and Paul Leicester Ford has given to Martha Bell Washington a character entirely the opposite of the one we have admired and loved, representing her, especially in old age, for she lived to be eighty-three and died only ten years before her illustrious son, as discontented, fault finding, untidy and generally mortifying to him. But would it not have been more kindly to have drawn the veil of silence over this sad chapter, caused, no doubt, by infirmities and suffering. Mr. Ford seems to cherish a little spite against the women who were nearest Washington and whom he loved, and belittles the charming Mrs. Custis saying she had no special intellect or ability, but she satisfied him. However, he does say that he was indebted to his mother for his fine physical development and noble bearing.

After his father's death he was only for a short time under the direct influence of his mother, for the scope of the sexton teacher's attainments were too limited for the rapidly growing needs of the pupil and he was transferred to the care of his half brothers who took in him a paternal interest. At the home of Augustine he pursued his plain practical education, and later his tastes and manners were formed at the home of Lawrence who had named his inheritance Mt. Vernon in honor of the English admiral under whom he had served.

Lawrence, during his father's life, had been educated in Europe and married a relative of Lord Fairfax and his home was the resort of the culture and refinement of the colony in its palmy days. In this delightful and congenial society the boy George became a favorite. Soon, however, we find this patient child of experience learning from actual life the lessons which fitted him for his brilliant career. Upon the early death of Lawrence and his little daughter Mount Vernon became the inheritance of George and his harbor of rest and love during the intervals of his strenuous public services. Here he brought the beautiful Martha Custis and her children whom he made, as nearly as possible, his own. From the first he made the boy John Custis

his friend and companion, taking him on his travels and hunts and even having him by his side at the surrender at Yorktown. And when the frail, delicate daughter was dying at the age of seventeen, Washington was upon his knees in prayer at her bedside, the tears coursing down his cheeks. To the education of John he gave much time and attention, entering him in college. Some authorities say Columbia, some Princeton. However he did not remain long for he was not a student and had fallen in love, and soon marrying pretty Eleanor Calvert, with many misgivings on the part of his foster father, on account of his immature years. His life was not a long one, two of his children were adopted by Washington, and Nelly under the tenderest love and care developed into a great beauty. Some one has said she was religion, culture, fun, daring turned by femininity to charm.

When the demands of entertaining became too great for an elderly man and Lawrence Lewis, the son of Washington's sister, was sent for to assist it was under the kindly shelter of Mount Vernon that the pretty romance of their love and marriage took place. Of this couple Washington was extremely fond, bestowing upon them a handsome estate. Washington's frequent allusions to his matrimonial felicity leave no doubt that his was one of the happiest of marriages. His wife, who was the same age as himself, amiable, pretty, congenial, brought him a fortune, presided over his household with dignity, dispensed a gracious hospitality, in all respects adorned his official station and cheered his private life. Over his slaves whom he considered a part of his family, and during his army life over his soldiers he exercised the greatest care especially in illness and was revered and loved by all. His will is a notable one among such documents, and no one in reading it could think that any friend or servant could have been disappointed. The bequests are numerous. With thoughtfulness for the old and infirm he bequeathed to his slaves their freedom upon the death of his wife. To Judge Bushrod Washington he gave Mount Vernon and upon his death in 1829 it went to his nephew, Col. John Washington. It is said that bankruptcy comes in Virginia to every third generation and dismal days fell upon Mt. Vernon. The roof leaked, melancholy echoes of falling piazza posts sounded across the

Potomac, the tomb was dilapidated, decay and desolation settled over all. In 1857 the women of America led by a Miss Cunningham, of South Carolina, formed the Mt. Vernon Association and rescued the historic place from its ruins and since that time it has remained under the care of the Association. Col. John Washington joined the Confederate army, was killed in the civil war, and now rests beside the father of his country—the last Washington who will be buried at Mt. Vernon. His daughter, Mrs. Eleanor Washington Howard, the present D. A. R. State regent of Virginia, was the last Washington born there. Washington gave the beautiful estate of Arlington to George Washington Parke Custis where afterward lived his daughter Mrs. Robert E. Lee and where now sleep sixteen thousand American soldiers slain in a war between brothers. I have been able to trace but few of the recent Washingtons, but one of the most patriotic owners of the honored name was Miss Eugenie Washington, one of the organizers of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She was the great grand daughter of Samuel Washington a younger brother of George. His son, the grandfather of Eugenie married Lucy Payne, a sister of the famous and fascinating Dolly Madison, their son, her father, married a niece of John C. Calhoun who, on her mother's side, was descended from a French nobleman who fought in the revolution. At Harewood the family colonial mansion of gray stone Eugenie was born in the shadow of the Blue Ridge. During the civil war the family suffered all its hardships and horrors and the loss of all their earthly possessions. At its close she was offered an honorable place under the U. S. government and resided in the City of Washington until her death on Thanksgiving Day, 1900. She had served the National Society D. A. R. as registrar general, secretary general, vice-president general and in 1895 was made honorary vice-president general for life. The last man of note was Col. Thornton Augustine Washington, who graduated at West Point in 1849, and was in continuous service at the academy and in the West until he resigned in 1861, to take a position on the staff of Gen. Robert E. Lee. He was a man of much culture and historical research and died in Washington in 1894. His family are living in Texas and his widow is, or has been, state

vice-regent of the Daughters of the Revolution. I have recently been informed that Mrs. Delhanty, wife of the superintendent of the Sailor's Snug Harbor on Staten Island was a Miss Washington of the famous family, and that her daughter, Miss Mary Washington Delhanty, who is one of the athletic girls was introduced in New York society in the winter of 1902. Both of these ladies are said to bear a striking resemblance to their illustrious relative of which fact and their relationship they are extremely proud.

Someone has said that George Washington was denied children that he might become the Father of his Country. But knowing as we do the magnitude of his heart, his intense patriotism, his fervent devotion to right principles and the exact honesty with which he apportioned his time and abilities we cannot, for a moment, think that had heaven vouchsafed him a family really his own, he would have loved his country less, served her less faithfully, or have been in any sense less her Father.

WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY MRS. J. L. MCARTHUR.

WE are living in a period characterized by extraordinary interest in all that concerns the early history of the republic. This revived interest has followed a period of indifference and neglect, and the American people seem to have conceived a new pride and a greater appreciation of the noble heritage supplied to them in the record of the glorious deeds of their ancestors of both sexes. Many causes have combined to produce this revival. Broadly speaking, it dates from the awful civil war which closed nearly forty years ago, though that effect was not immediately apparent. When the tremendous struggle ceased both sides to the contest were so weary and worn that the first result was a desire for peace, rest and recuperation, while in the hearts of the late belligerents smouldered a fierce and bitter feeling of hostility and vindictiveness. The wounds made by the fraternal strife, the most gigantic of recent ages, were broad and deep, and it took time for them to heal. But later came the better sense, the realization that after all the differences had been superficial and that the right had triumphed because it was right, and that the triumph insured to this continent a new and powerful nationality such as the founders of our government had never dreamed of.

This new nationality knows no section or creed, religious or political. It is all-embracing. It is shared in alike by east and west, north and south. Differences remain on many points, as they always will among a people as intelligent and having as many diverse points of view as to local interests and questions as ours. But on the one fundamental principle, the maintenance of the national dignity and prestige, there is hearty and unhesitating unity. Never before was the motto of the United States

so appropriate or so exactly indicative of the facts. *E Pluribus Unum*. Of a verity we are one composed of many, and that many at heart true to the one purpose that can effectively weld a community into a solid, cohesive force. It is such unity as this that also produces growing interest in all that concerns the institutions which have led to such conditions as we find existing in this favored land at the present time. "By their fruits ye shall know them," and deeds and personalities that have produced the fruits seen in the form of the nation of the present day are worthy of our reverent and careful study. It is this spirit which has seized upon the people and led them to give more time and thought than ever before to contemplation of the acts of the fathers who gave us our independence and hesitated at no sacrifice short of honor and truth.

Among the influences which, seizing the opportunity found in an increased spirit of nationalism, have contributed to this revived interest in matters associated with the struggle of the colonies for freedom, none holds a deservedly higher place than the organization of patriotic women to which we have the honor of belonging. The list of its achievements in bringing into new prominence events and individuals figuring in the Revolution is a long and bright one, and the work it has done in many localities in calling fresh attention to incidents of the war and in helping to perpetuate their remembrance can be appreciated only by those who carefully investigate the facts and study the records. Suffice it to say that the country owes a great debt of obligation to the devoted ladies who have given so much of time, thought, effort and means to placing before the people the enduring memorials of the patriots of the Revolution.

And it is especially fitting that to these daughters of the Revolution there should be a special appeal to do justice to the women of the Revolution. Here is a subject which may well claim our most sympathetic interest. The women of the Revolution! It is no disparagement to the statesmen and warriors of that period to say full justice has never been done to those women, and the fathers of the republic, in the generosity of their spirit, would most heartily endorse that statement were they with us in the flesh. The true nature of that weary fight for independence can-

not be thoroughly understood unless one carefully studies all the elements that entered into it, and investigation shows that the American women were most potent factors in bringing about the final triumph. It is a truism that the American nation is one of homes. It was as true at the beginning as it is now—perhaps the truth was more apparent then than at the present time. The country then was much more thinly settled than it is in the twentieth century. The families were more generally isolated, and the domestic circle was the centre of influence and sentiment. There the American woman presided, and there she exerted a force for pure living and general righteousness which made her the conservator of moral power. When a fight began like that between England and her American colonies the American woman was certain to be a dominating agency. And right well in this instance did she fulfill her mission.

One who has given much time and thought to a study of the forces underlying the American Revolution has traced them in large measure to the women of that period. The reasoning and the facts seem to be in perfect accord. While the scenes and the actors of that era are to be regarded with the greatest veneration, attention is properly directed to the sentiment pervading the mass of the people, and which "gave statesmen their influence and armed heroes for victory." The essay continues: "What could they have done but for the home sentiment to which they appealed and which sustained them in the hour of trial and success? They were thus aided in the eminence they gained through toils and perils. Others may claim a share in the merit if not the fame of their illustrious deeds, but the feeling which wrought thus powerfully in the community depended, in great part, upon the women." In fact, it appears that American women had a direct and clearly distinguished share in the work of bringing on the Revolution, for we are told: "Who can estimate the controlling influence of early culture? During the years of the progress of British encroachment and colonial discontent, when the sagacious politician could discern the portentous shadow of events yet far distant, there was time for the nurture, in the domestic sanctuary, of that love of civil liberty which afterward kindled into a flame and shed light on the world. The talk of matrons, in American

homes, was of the people's wrongs and the tyranny that oppressed them, till the sons who had grown to manhood, with strengthened aspirations towards a better state of things and views enlarged to comprehend their invaded rights, stood up prepared to defend them to the uttermost. Patriotic mothers nursed the infancy of freedom. Their counsels and their prayers mingled with the deliberations that resulted in a nation's assertion of its independence. They animated the courage and confirmed the self-devotion of those who ventured all in the common cause. They frowned upon all instances of coldness or backwardness; and in the period of deepest gloom cheered and urged onward the desponding. They willingly shared inevitable dangers and privations, relinquished without regret prospects of advantage to themselves and parted with those they loved better than life, not knowing when they were to meet again. It is almost impossible now to appreciate the vast influence of woman's patriotism upon the destinies of the infant republic. History can do it no justice."

When the men went to war the women of the Revolution practically took charge of affairs at home. More than that, they not only carried on the work of the farm, the shop and the household, but they found time to aid directly the cause for which their loved ones were fighting. They formed associations renouncing the use of teas and other imported luxuries, the attempt to force them on the people had been among the causes contributing to the revolt. They engaged to card, spin and weave their own clothing and that of the men in the field. They showed their unshrinking loyalty to the patriot cause by refusing the addresses of any young men who had not gone into the military service of the country. The needy shared the fruit of the industry and economy of the thrifty. Those near the scene of action visited the hospitals and ministered to the sick and wounded. Some of the women went to the prisons where the British kept American soldiers in cruel confinement, and often braved the brutality and insults of the guards to give comfort to the unfortunate, carrying succor to those who but for them would have perished. Many American women raised grain, gathered it, made bread and carried it to the men in the army. In scores of

ways, too often forgotten now, but contributing to a result which otherwise would never have been attained, the American women of the Revolution helped the continental cause and set the seal of devotion, even to the death, upon the story which tells of their heroism, as great and as momentous in its outcome as that of their masculine contemporaries. It is a pleasure, no less than a duty, for the daughters of the Revolution to pay tribute to the services of the mothers of that time.

It would be additionally pleasant to dwell at length on individual cases which illustrate the spirit of the women of the Revolution, but time forbids too extensive an elaboration. There are, however, some feminine personalities of that day and generation who stand out with such distinctness that they cannot be omitted from mention. We are accustomed to place at the head of the list that famous and gracious woman, the wife of the "father of his country," and who became literally the first of "the first ladies of the land"—and indeed Martha Washington is entitled to all the honor and reverence that her exalted character has evoked. But with George Washington concededly the foremost of American patriots and statesmen for all time, there are merit and aptness in the contention that, bearing in mind the formative influence of colonial women to which allusion has been made, Mary Washington, the mother of the great revolutionary chieftain, is to be considered among the foremost types. And as her life is studied it will be seen that she was a most remarkable woman. Washington himself, great as he was, ever acknowledged that he owed everything to his mother. It was from her that he derived his education in the unswerving morality that marked every relation of life—the high conception of personal honor, the clear, sound judgment, the untiring industry, the respect for religion and the careful regard for every obligation. La Fayette, the chivalrous young Frenchman who became Washington's bosom friend and who fought so gallantly for the Americans, expressed his great admiration for Mary Washington when he spoke of her as the Spartan mother who by her own elevation of character and matchless discipline was fitted to lay the foundation of the greatness of him who, "towered beyond all Greek, all Roman fame." She had remarkable vigor of intel-

lect, strength of resolution and capacity for governing her own affairs, as her successful management of a large estate typified. With all were simplicity and sincerity that were reflected in the career of her illustrious son. And he never wearied of love, respect and filial obedience. It is indicative of the relations between the two that, on the occasions of the few meetings that were permitted them while the war was raging, he never came as the powerful head of the continental forces, but always as the son bowing in homage and affection. At the close of hostilities, when the foe had been beaten, peace assured and independence established through his military success, he went to his mother; and again, when a grateful country called him to the presidency. But at neither time was there aught of pride or exaltation. On the one side a son knelt to the mother who bore him, in testimony of his obligation first of all to her; on the other side was dignified acceptance of the respect thus shown as due to her because of the relationship and on account of the early instruction which had wrought such results. Only great and simple characters could carry out those parts so fittingly, and in their simplicity and greatness Washington and his mother were sublime.

Martha Washington stands foremost among the revolutionary galaxy of women by right of the part she bore in staying the hands of the man who was the chief figure of his day. In actual activities affecting the revolutionary struggle no doubt many other women surpassed her, for her lot was cast amid scenes which made her more a spiritual and moral help than a physical force. She was not compelled to assume charge of large material interests and give personal supervision and manual labor to the furtherance of the cause. But she stood beside her husband and was his inspiration and comfort in good as well as evil report, when the sun was hidden behind clouds of impenetrable gloom or when it was shining in the fullness of glory and success. Oftentimes her presence was a real inspiration when danger confronted, as during the encampment of the army on the Hudson when an attack by the enemy was threatened and the officer advised that all the women be sent away. To this Washington refused his consent. "The presence of our wives," he said, "will the better encourage us to a brave defense." And so it

proved. The army, nerved by the example of the ladies so courageously trusting themselves to its protection, made such a bold show of defiance that the British abandoned the attempt, and thus the women, headed by "Lady Washington," may be said to have saved the day. Mrs. Washington spent each winter during the war at her husband's headquarters, and one who chronicled her many good deeds says of her: "She was at Valley Forge in that dreadful winter of 1777-'8. Her presence and submission to privation strengthened the fortitude of those who might have complained, and gave hope and confidence to the desponding. She soothed the distresses of many sufferers, seeking out the poor and afflicted with benevolent kindness, extending relief wherever it was in her power, and with graceful deportment presiding in the Chief's humble dwelling." There are many other pictures of "Lady Washington," some of them showing her in her stateliness and grandeur as the mistress of a lordly domain and the wife of the president. But the one that will dwell longest and most lovingly in the memory of the American people is this which portrays her as the ministering angel in the continental camp.

Calling the roll of women of the Revolution one is struck by the extraordinary strength of character which it reveals. Certain of us are accustomed to regard this as the era of emancipation for women, whatever that may mean. The archives of the Revolution, when faithfully searched, show that the women of that day had rare capacity for mental and physical achievement, and were not at all backward in exercising their powers. Furthermore, these were consecrated on the altar of their country as freely as were the lives and talents of their fathers, their husbands, their sons and their sweethearts. It seems hardly too much to say that it is doubtful if the Revolution would have succeeded without the help of the women. One cannot fail to be impressed with the extent and variety of the service they rendered. With some, having nothing else to give, it was not counted too much to go into the army and share all the dangers and privations of war. What more heroic figure is there than that of Mollie Pitcher, wife of an artilleryman who fell in battle, seizing the rammer and taking her dead husband's place, loading and firing

with the intrepidity of an old soldier? Or who would forget Deborah Samson, who enlisted, under an assumed name, as a young man, and fought bravely, being twice wounded, her sex being discovered only on the last occasion, when she was in the surgeon's care, and who had the honor to receive a discharge from Washington himself? These are humble instances, but they illustrate the spirit which made the women of the Revolution what they were.

Of different mold but of the same general character were many other women who figure in the revolutionary story. Catherine Schuyler, only daughter of the great patroon, John Van Rensselaer of Greenbush, and wife of the gallant American General Schuyler, who was her husband's pride and mainstay and who shared with him the equanimity which enabled him to welcome as his guest General Burgoyne, a prisoner of war after the battle of Saratoga, to their hospitable home at Albany, although their handsome house near the scene of the battle had been burned by Burgoyne's men. The British officer had the grace to apologize, when General Schuyler made the noble reply: "Such is the fate of war; let us not dwell on the subject," a sentiment in which Mrs. Schuyler heartily concurred. Where was the heroism that surpassed that of Rebecca Motte, whose mansion near Charleston, S. C., had been taken by the British and fortified into a formidable stronghold? The only way the enemy could be dislodged was by firing the princely place, and Mrs. Motte herself furnished the bow and arrows by which the fiery missiles were carried to the spot.

Genius in many forms was represented among the women of the Revolution. Abigail Adams was especially gifted as a writer, and her letters have given a more vivid description of the events of that era and of the causes leading to them and of the personalities connected with them than any other extant. As the wife of one of the foremost statesmen and a leading participant in the affairs of that time, and who became president of the republic he helped to found, she saw the inside workings of great movements, and she has left on record facts and impressions that are most illuminating as to the history so much of which she saw and a part of which she was.

But we may not pause for more of specific mention. How could we stop if once we went into the merits of all the brave and noble women who gave their hearts and souls to their country and who were the refuge and inspiration of the men who were at the front in the time that tested human mettle as it had never been tested before? We, the daughters of those peerless American women, proudly contemplate the greatness of their deeds and the nobility of their character, and we can with justice affirm that but for them that fierce struggle, prolonged and desperate as it was, would have had far less prospect of a successful issue. It is time, therefore, that fuller justice be done to the women of the American Revolution and that the services they rendered to a nation which has since become the most prosperous and powerful on earth should have fitting recognition.

ART AND ARTISTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

BY MARTHA HILL MCFARLAND.

AT first thought it may seem a far cry from the consideration of battles and tales of derring-do of the men and women of the Revolution, to the painters of that time, but surely all Daughters and Historical Society members think as Dr. Holmes, who said, other things being equal he preferred the man of family, the man with the gallery of family portraits to the one with the twenty-five cent daguerreotype. And it is to these same painters we owe the portraits and the knowledge of what our heroes looked like. Such knowledge is by no means idle, for from such pictures as West's group of the Peace Commissioners of 1783, whose faces and attitudes are described as expressive of the calm serenity, self respect, and refined power of the highest type of human intellect and character, one gets an unerring revelation of the temper of that time. One may arrive at the same knowledge through careful study of the acts of these men and their contemporaries, but the artist has put it where he who runs may read, and no document is needed to verify it; for it has become axiomatic that art infallibly reveals the character both of nations and individuals.

Aside from making it possible for us to see our heroes as they were in the flesh, the artists of our Colonial and Revolutionary periods may well claim recognition as heroes themselves; for surely the man who steadily follows his ideal over seemingly unsurmountable obstacles is of heroic stuff. The more one considers our early conditions the more one wonders that any were found brave enough to attempt an artist's career. To begin with, Englishmen have always found their highest artistic expression

in literature, and England produced no painter who really merited attention until Hogarth came before the public in 1725. Yet Englishmen had had the advantage of watching the work of artists like Holbein and Rubens and Van Dyck, besides having access to the art treasures of the continent. Then joined to this barren art inheritance were the hard conditions that obtain in a new country where men have to work to live and have little leisure in which to enjoy the beautiful. In other countries art has followed the orderly "broadening down from precedent to precedent" of temple, tower and statue to the canvas of the painter, but here were no cathedrals to inspire with their beauty of line and proportion. There were no galleries, no art museums, no art schools, no wealthy class to encourage the production of pictures, no sensuous worship but a creed that was if anything hostile to art. Yet in spite of such impossible conditions, the country produced several artists whose work was placed by the men of their time in the foremost rank.

That estimate has changed somewhat since their work has been looked at in perspective and the painters are no longer called great artists, to-day "new gods are crowned in the city." But to one painter in particular Americans are said to owe a statue, "not so much because he was an artist as because he asserted to the world the aesthetic capacity of a newly fledged race." That man is Benjamin West, born in 1738 of an old Quaker family at Springfield, now Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. There to-day stands the Friend's meeting house, plain and in-artistic to a degree, in which the congregation discussed the question whether they could conscientiously countenance the boy Benjamin's entering upon so frivolous an occupation as picture making.

A frivolous occupation the Friends might think it, but West brought to it unflagging energy and something of the ability and willingness to do "ye nexte thyng" that every pioneer who succeeds must have; for when there were no portraits to paint West did not disdain sign-boards and many tavern signs in the vicinity of Philadelphia were done by him. Later when his success in England made him take up his residence there, the same energy characterizes him and in 1768 he is one of four artists

who submit to the king plans for a Royal Academy, and after its organization he became its second president succeeding Sir Joshua Reynolds. Independent in his work and possessed of a goodly amount of common sense that made apparent to him the absurdity of using classical draperies in all historical paintings, he departed from the accepted mode and in one of his most noted paintings—The Death of Wolfe—he introduced modern costume.

Both West and his wife, who was Miss Betty Shewell of Philadelphia, were most loyally American. A cousin, Tom Shewell, tells the story that dining with them in London one Sunday, a platter carefully covered with a cloth was brought in and set before Mrs. West. When the cloth was removed several corn cobs were revealed, the result of her attempt to grow green corn in her hot house. "But," said Mrs. West, "I had the cobs boiled to get the smell anyhow."

West was always more than ready to help any young American who wished to become an artist. Charles Wilson Peale in a delightfully reminiscent letter to his son Rembrandt, says, "there were many instances that came within my knowledge during my residence in London of Mr. West's goodness of heart, and I shall ever remember his kindness to me with gratitude."

Such a man was our first artist, not a great painter, the term mediocre is applied to-day to many of his pictures, but one who by his work and generous help in developing the talents of others "served his generation."

Following West were many men who worked to further the cause of art, so many that to quote Peale again, "I cannot undertake to make any account of them here," save three, Copley and Peale and Stuart.

Copley because he experienced perhaps more than any other the hardships surrounding an artist in a new land, yet produced portraits that critics consider the marvels of our pioneer art. His colors and even the brush he worked with were said to have been of his own making and self-educated he saw few if any good pictures except his own until he was forty years old. The flying squirrel was a favorite accessory with him, almost as much so as the King Charles spaniel with Van Dyck. It appears

often, notably in the first picture that brought him recognition—a portrait of his half brother Henry Pelham, known as *The Boy and the Flying Squirrel*. Copley sent it to West in London without name or address. West was delighted with it and guessed from the squirrel and the wood on which the canvas was stretched that it was the work of an American. One of the most interesting as well as one of Copley's best pictures is his own family group. In it appears his father-in-law, Richard Clarke, the Boston merchant to whom was consigned the tea used in the famous Boston tea party. The children are delightfully done and the whole group shows very markedly his grace and breadth of treatment.

One of Copley's pupils of much less talent than his master, but typically American in his versatility, was Charles Wilson Peale. Beginning life as a saddler, he served as a soldier throughout the Revolution, was a popular lecturer, a manufacturer, an inventor, a scientific writer of credit, as well as a painter. In the midst of his varied occupations he found time to bring up a family of children whose names, Raphael, Rembrandt, Titian, Van Dyck and Rubens indicate the father's taste.

Peale was devoted to the study of natural history and was curator of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia for many years. He has handed down to this generation portraits of its most illustrious officers and members as well as portraits of Robert Morris, Baron Steuben, Alexander Hamilton, Hancock and Washington.

Among the artists ranked to-day as American masters of painting, is Gilbert Stuart, born in Rhode Island of a Scotch father and Welsh mother and entered in the baptismal registry of 1755 as son of the snuff grinder. His first patron was the family physician who seeing one of the boy's sketches presented him with a box of paints and brushes—a red letter day in young Stuart's life.

Going to London he studied under West who was so pleased with him that he took him into his own household. Later when Stuart opened a studio of his own the same winning personality helped him to gain immediate success. When once his position was assured he refused many sitters accepting only those who

appealed to his particular temperament and so afforded him the best opportunity of making a good picture. He was very desirous of painting Washington, so gave up all the work waiting for him in England and returned to this country. He made three portraits of Washington, one being the famous Athenaeum portrait now in the Boston Museum of Art. Mr. Caffin says of this portrait, "Free of the curtains, columns and other stock paraphernalia of the painter of the period, we are left in uninterrupted possession of the man who is represented as indeed the father of his people."

Mr. Caffin goes on to express the following opinion of Stuart, "He was not a follower of others but a distinct and forceful individuality that played a leading role in the stirring drama of his times, and in the story of American Art he holds a unique and dignified position."

Aside from the work of the painters of that early time there were some indications of aesthetic capacity. Bad from an artistic standpoint were many things in the Georgian period, but never quite so bad here as in England. Perhaps because of the infusion of Huguenot blood and because conditions here imposed upon us the necessity of selection and made imperative the use of the handmade article in the creation of which there is a chance for artistic expression that must be forever lacking in the article made by machinery.

Our trueness of taste showed most clearly in the architecture, an architecture which Thomas Nelson Page says "seems to have blown across the country a century and a half ago like the breath of a classical spring leaving in its path the traces of a genius which had its inspiration on the historic shores of the Aegean and the Mediterranean." Certainly the colonial mansions with their massive chimneys, fine staircases, beautifully wainscoted rooms, well paneled doors with long reaching hinges of wrought iron and window casings and mantels of finely simple designs are a delight to the artistic eye.

In the decoration of the houses the women found a field for the exercise of their artistic talent. Occasionally a woman is mentioned who ventured on a public career. A Miss Polly Rench is recorded as supporting her mother and young brother

by painting miniatures; but after her marriage she gave it up, saying she only followed the profession of portrait painting to obtain a living and that it was very disagreeable to her to stare in the faces of gentlemen as she thought it savored of impudence. A reason that reflects the attitude of the time. But the manufacture of articles needed for the home was granted to be eminently praiseworthy, and we to-day grant that the bed and window curtains of linen and linen and wool, homespun and colored a dusky green, or dull blue, or subdued gold color are eminently artistic. So were many of the rich red, dark yellow and indigo blue carpets of woolen yarn; and the blue and white, green and white, or brown coverlids. Throughout the whole scheme of decoration they showed a sense of fitness conspicuously lacking in their descendants when they hung up beribboned rolling pins in the spare room and made gilded broilers act as paper holders in the library.

To-day we have reverted to the standard of that time for household decoration in learning again to do nothing too much, and also in our appreciation of the hand-made article—of what in the vernacular of our day we term the crafts.

To the Revolution, which cut off all intercourse with England, and the resultant democratic spirit which regarded with disfavor anything partaking so much of the aristocratic element as the manor house and its portraits by Copley and Stuart, it is due in great part that the fair beginning of art in this country made no permanent impression. In still greater part perhaps it is due to the fact that all the vital creative energies of our people were for the time absorbed in working out the problem of Nationality referred to in the address of this session.

But if the Artists of the Revolutionary time could not found an American school, they did do three things. They showed that the art faculty existed in us; they indicated the line of work—portraiture—along which our greatest achievements are gained; and they left us a gift of incalculable historical value in the portraits of the great men of that time.

THE DAUGHTERS OF THE EMPIRE STATE AND THEIR WORK.

BY MRS. CHARLES H. TERRY.

The National Society.

DAUGHTERS of the American Revolution was organized
October 11th, 1891.

Its first avowed object was for patriotic, historical, and educational purposes, to perpetuate the memory and spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence; by the acquisition and protection of historical spots, and the erection of monuments; by the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution, and the publication of its results; by the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the individual services of the Revolutionary soldiers and patriots, and by the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries. As this is in a direct line with the work of your honorable Society, I trust that my efforts to offer you something of interest may meet with a measure of success. Personally I am averse to listening to an address composed largely of facts and figures and therefore I hesitated before finally choosing this subject.

The pleasure I have experienced in preparing it and the pride with which I present it will compensate me for the enforced introduction of Statistical Statements.

The Daughters of the Empire State proudly bear the banner of the Society which numbers 40,000 active members. New York being accredited with 6,000 of these members and seventy-eight well organized and flourishing Chapters.

During the Spanish American War, Greater New York was headquarters for the Woman's National War Relief Association

and the National Red Cross Society. The first was organized by, and was under the general direction of, one of the founders of this Society, Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, of Saratoga, who gave her time, service, and ultimately her Daughter's life to its exacting demands. The president of the Red Cross Society, Miss Clara Barton, is an honorary Vice-President General of this organization. The contributions of the organized chapters of the State were given largely through these societies, and were as follows:

Clothing and bedding.....	25,750	articles
Books	11,959	volumes
Packages of smaller articles.....	622	packages
<hr/>		
Total	38,331	articles
Cash contributions	\$9,199.40	

No call for help has ever been unheeded:

Cuban orphans
Galveston Flood
Florida Disaster
McKinley Memorial
Jefferson Association
Flag Association
Washington and Lafayette Statues
Mary Washington Monument Association
Prison Ship Martyrs Monument Association

and many others, all met with a generous response; while every report shows that local charities never appeal in vain to the Daughters. Historic events have been chronicled as follows: By the placing of fifty tablets, erection of several monuments, one hundred and fifty Revolutionary soldiers' graves located and six hundred marked; several churches and cemeteries restored. Fifty public schools have been presented with flags also many historical pictures placed in schools and five hundred prizes awarded to pupils for essays upon historical subjects.

Our Chapters early undertook the work of fostering and pre-

serving in the hearts of our youth the principles and institutions our ancestors sacrificed their lives to sustain.

Their objective point was the public schools and their efforts were directed towards creating special interest in the study of American History, a love for the flag, and knowledge of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Copies of the Declaration of Independence have been placed by Chapters in every public school in eighteen cities and large towns.

Following is a resume of the commemorative work accomplished by Chapters in the various counties:

Adirondack Chapter, Malone, Franklin County.—Placed markers upon the graves of every Revolutionary soldier in Franklin County.

Astenrogen Chapter, Little Falls, Herkimer County.—Marked the site of Fort Herkimer.

Baron Steuben Chapter, Bath, Steuben County.—Contributed money for the restoration of the Baron Steuben monument.

Bronx Chapter, Mt. Vernon, Westchester County.—Unveiled a tablet on Glovers Rock, Pelham Park in memory of 550 patriots led by Colonel John Glover who held General Howe's Army in check at Battle of Bells Point.

Buffalo Chapter, Buffalo, Erie County.—Whose first work was in the public schools a little later became the pioneer in patriotic education. In a city with a population of 75,000 Poles and 25,000 Italians, realizing that the adults would never learn to read English while the men would in time become voters, the members of the Chapter considered their nearest duty to be, the instruction of these men in American History and Civil Government. In order to accomplish this purpose they prepared lectures on our own country's history, twelve in number, had them translated into the Polish and Italian languages and presented (well illustrated by stereopticon views) before audiences averaging five and six hundred of these foreigners who gave the closest attention and have shown a thorough appreciation of the work during several winters. This unique example has been followed by Chapters in other cities, not only in this State but others. This Chapter was instrumental in placing five beautiful tablets of bronze on the Niagara frontier, marking historic spots.

Benjamin Prescott Chapter, Fredonia, Chautauqua County.—The Free Public Library in this town was, in early days, a fine old home and the house was illuminated in honor of Lafayette's visit to the town. A window partially burned on this occasion was left untouched. This Chapter has placed a brass tablet upon it, as it now opens into the historical room of the Library.

Camden Chapter, Camden, Oneida County.—Erected a fine monument to the memory of thirty-four Revolutionary soldiers who came from Connecticut and settled Camden. Placed in Mexico Street where eighteen of them lie.

Deo-on-go-wa Chapter, Batavia, Genesee County.—Has the custody of an Historical Museum in the old Holland Patent Land Office. Has also furnished three rooms in it, completely, with old furniture of Colonial and Revolutionary period.

Fort Green Chapter, Brooklyn, Kings County.—Is honored by having on its membership roll the name of Mrs. James S. T. Stranahan, ex-Vice-President General. Organized for the purpose of erecting a monument to The Prison Ship Martyrs. Successful in having name of Fort Greene restored to the spot where the martyrs are buried; instrumental in forming Prison Ship Martyrs Monument Association, turning over to it \$5,000 collected; furnished a room in memory of Prison Ship Martyrs in Naval Branch of the Y. M. C. A., Brooklyn Navy Yard. Also placed on the walls of the Old Dutch Church in Flatbush, used as a hospital during and after the Battle of Long Island, a tablet in memory of Revolutionary soldiers buried beneath it. Organized a Society of the C. A. R. of nearly 100 members, banner society of the organization.

Fort Stanwix, Rome, Oneida County.—Marked the site of Fort Stanwix, the first fort over which the flag of our country was unfurled, by placing tablets on each of the four cannons which mark the bastions of the fort; cannon furnished by the Government.

General Nicholas Herkimer, Gloversville, Herkimer County.—Hon. Warner Miller having promised to erect a bronze statue of General Nicholas Herkimer in the village park, at a cost of \$5,000, if the Chapter will pay \$1,500 for the pedestal. The Chapter has been and the members are actively engaged in raising this sum.

Hendrick Hudson Chapter, Hudson, Columbia County.—**This Chapter** provided its city with a free library in 1900. **One of its members** presented to the Chapter an old colonial house for a Chapter home. It includes Chapter room, reading room, library, auditorium and museum. Later the same generous member gave \$20,000 to be used in maintaining the library. A further gift of money has greatly improved the building and enabled the Chapter to purchase more land. Altogether this patriotic and interested member has given about \$60,000.

Irondequoit Chapter, Rochester, Monroe County.—**This Chapter** is honored by bearing upon its roll of membership the name of Mrs. Wm. S. Little, ex-State Regent. In 1903, the Chapter re-interred the remains of Lieutenant Boy, Sergeant Parker, and fourteen others—heroes of Sullivan's campaign, who fell September 12th, 1779. A beautiful lot in Mt. Hope cemetery was presented by the City of Rochester for this purpose.

Jane McCrea Chapter, Fort Edward, Washington County.—An artistic and unique monument has been erected by **this Chapter** on a plot of ground fifteen feet square. Monument is a cairn and faced with a tablet inscribed "In Commemoration of Jane McCrea's tragic death, July 27, 1777."

Johnstown Chapter, Johnstown, Fulton County.—Placed a huge boulder of mottled rock containing quartz which glistens brilliantly in the sunshine. It is oblong in shape surmounted by a 300 lb. cannon ball from the battle ship "Hartford." On the tablet of bronze is the following inscription: "This tablet marks the site of the Johnstown battle field, erected by the Johnstown Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. Thus we show to succeeding generations that we honor our heroic dead."

Kanisteo Valley Chapter, Hornellsville, Steuben County.—Placed a natural boulder upon the State Armory grounds at Hornellsville bearing a bronze tablet inscribed: "To the patriots of the American Revolution buried in the upper Kanisteo Valley, this memorial is dedicated."

Knickerbocker Chapter, New York, New York City.—A tablet of bronze was placed at 23 Whitehall Street to designate the home of Anneke Jans, and unveiled by a child of less than two

years, a direct descendant of Anneke Jans and Alexander Hamilton. A tablet placed upon a large boulder in Murray Hill Park in commemoration, not only of Mary Murray, but the thousands of women of the American Revolution of which she was the type.

Le Ray de Chaumont Chapter, Watertown, Jefferson County.—Unveiled a tablet at Madison barracks, with most impressive military services, to the memory of two hundred and eighty officers and men of the 9th U. S. Infantry who lost their lives during the campaign in Cuba, China and the Philippines.

Mahwenawasigh Chapter, Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County.—Undertook for its first work the purchase of the old house of Governor Clinton. The State, in response to appeals made by the Chapter, purchased the property making the Chapter its custodian. The Chapter has restored and furnished the building which is now a chapter house, and also used for Governor George Clinton museum. It has also established a permanent fund for its maintenance and built an addition at a cost of \$500. It has placed a beautiful bronze tablet on the new Court House, built on the site of the old Court House, where the Constitution was ratified. In April of this year it was unveiled and presented to the city, with beautiful and impressive services, a military display, bands of music and firing of musketry. After which distinguished guests were escorted to the Court House where appropriate addresses were made.

Mary Washington Colonial Chapter, New York City, New York County.—Has the honor of bearing upon its membership roll the name of Mrs. J. Heron Crosman, ex-Vice-President General. Placed a tablet on the interior wall of the General Post Office in commemoration of the spot on the then Common of the City of New York, where stood from 1766 to 1776, a Liberty Pole erected to commemorate the Repeal of the Stamp Act. It was repeatedly destroyed by the violence of the Tories and as repeatedly replaced by the Sons of Liberty who organized a constant watch and guard. In its defence the first martyr blood of the Revolution was shed on January 18, 1770. This Chapter has also marked the spot where stood the first presidential residence by placing a bronze tablet on one of the approaches to the Brooklyn Bridge. Erected a tablet in Holyrood Church, which

stands on the battlefield, in memory of Margaret Corbin, the heroine of Fort Washington. Placed a tablet on the old Hall of Records with the inscription:—"This tablet marks the site of the Provost Prison where patriots died for the cause of freedom, 1756." Also a tablet in St. Stephens's Church in memory of its pastor, Rev. Charles Treat, who was also Chaplain of the Chapter.

Melzingah Chapter, Fishkill, Dutchess County.—Is honored with the name of Mrs. Samuel Verplanck, Ex-State Regent upon its roll of membership. Erected a monument to mark the last resting place of revolutionary soldiers buried at Fishkill.

Lafayette Post, G. A. R., presented to this Chapter a monument placed in wall adjoining house where Lafayette was ill several weeks. The Chapter then placed a tablet upon the pedestal in memory of Lafayette.

During the Revolution beacon fires were lighted upon the north and south beacon, two peaks, back of Fishkill, as signals for the American soldiers for miles around. On July 4th, 1900, amid the soaring of rockets and the blazing of beacon lights, the monument, a cairn 27 feet high surmounted by a flag pole, was formally dedicated; answering fires were seen from Lake Mohonk, Storm King, Round Top and West Point, so that all Hudson Valley seemed to join in the celebration. This Chapter also erected signal flag staffs on each redoubt thrown up when Burgoyne threatened the Colonies of the north, (outlines of which are still visible). These redoubts commanded the "Wic-opee Pass", where post road from Albany to New York was afterward laid out.

Mohawk Chapter, Albany, Albany County.—Has the honor of counting upon its membership roll our Honorary President-General, Mrs. Daniel Manning.

This Chapter's Regent thought her interest as a Daughter should extend to the purchase for preservation the valuable Glen Saunders Mansion MSS. of "New York and Albany Sons of Liberty" who made possible the gathering of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Manhattan Chapter, New York City, New York County.—The Regent of this Chapter was honored by the appointment

(by the President-General) as Chairman of a committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution to welcome to America Madam la Contesse de Rochambeau.

New York City Chapter, New York City, New York County.—Placed a tablet in the old Avery Homestead at Mt. Pleasant, Tarrytown, to commemorate the loyalty of Capt. and Mrs. Thaddeus Avery during the Revolution. The tablet is placed above the door where Mrs. Avery baked bread for the Revolutionary soldiers and where Capt. Avery was branded with red hot irons by the Hessian soldiers; also presented a large American flag to the Count and Countess Rochambeau as a lasting recognition of the regard in which their names are held by the women patriots of this country. Establishes annually a Scholarship at Barnard, beneficiary of which makes a specialty of the study of American History.

Oneida Chapter.—Induced the city to restore name of Lafayette to a street; also placed a tablet on the wall of a Savings Bank to commemorate Lafayette's visit to the city.

Onondaga Chapter, Syracuse, Onondaga County.—Appreciates the honor of bearing upon its membership roll the name of Mrs. James Mead Belden, ex-State Regent. A tablet of brass inscribed and bearing the insignia of the Society has been placed in the Women's and Children's Hospital in Syracuse. It commemorates the devoted service of Miss Clara Ward, a graduate of the Institute who lost her life nursing soldiers during the Spanish-American War; this Chapter united with the Sons of the American Revolution in erecting a costly and most artistic bronze tablet in memory of the soldiers and sailors of the American Revolution who are buried in Onondaga County. It is placed on the exterior of the Government Building and was unveiled in the presence of the President-Generals of both Societies and many other distinguished guests. The ceremonies in the open air were most impressive and beautiful. A monument has also been placed to mark the grave of the Chapter's real daughter. Organized a large Society of the Children of the American Revolution.

Otsego Chapter, Cooperstown, Otsego County.—Placed a large boulder at the outlet of Otsego Lake; on which is mounted an old mortar, and on its face a tablet with this inscription:

"Here was built a dam in 1779, by soldiers under General Clinton, to enable them to join the forces under General Sullivan at Tioga".

Patterson Chapter, Westfield, Chautauqua County.—Is devoting all its energies and money to reclaiming an old cemetery from its neglected condition.

Quaissaick Chapter, Newburgh, Orange County.—A large boulder was transported from the neighboring hills to the old burying ground and a handsome bronze tablet placed upon it; this memorial marks the site of the old church Palatine, Parish of Quaissaick; pioneers who built it fled to this country from the religious persecution following the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV of France; they came from one of the Rhine Provinces. Also a boulder with a bronze tablet placed on the site of the Brewster Forge at Moodna Newburgh; it was at this forge that the historic chain was welded which was stretched across the Hudson to prevent British ships from passing above the Highlands.

Saranac Chapter, Plattsburgh, Clinton County.—Unveiled a tablet on house occupied by General Benjamin Mooers; also presented to the city a handsome bronze tablet, placed on the corner of the Custom House building, in commemoration of the battle of Plattsburgh.

Saratoga Chapter, Saratoga, Saratoga County.—This Chapter is peculiarly honored in having on its membership roll the name of Mrs. Helen Hardin Walworth, one of the founders of this Society, and the organizer and Director-General of the Women's National War Relief Association. The name of her daughter Rubena Hyde Walworth, another member of the Saratoga Chapter will long be remembered as the faithful nurse and the unconscious heroine whose earnest young life was sacrificed with such high and loving devotion to the sufferers at Montauk Point, where no other woman served. She remained at her post until her last patient was discharged but the fever was coursing in her veins even then, and she died October 18, 1898, and was borne to her grave with military honors rendered by some of those whose lives she had saved.

A national monument commemorating her services was erected by all Daughters who wished to contribute towards it. The lot

on which the monument stands is owned by Mrs. Walworth who will one day be laid beside her daughter. This monument belongs to the National Society but, Saratoga Chapter is and ever will be its custodian. Also organized a large Society of the Children of the American Revolution.

This Chapter has also placed several granite markers at points of interest on the battlefield of Saratoga, while wooden ones, marking the road from Saratoga to the battlefield, are being replaced with granite ones.

Swekatsi Chapter, Ogdensburgh, St. Lawrence County.—A chapter room has been furnished with relics. The Chapter has induced the authorities to restore the historic names of two streets:—Greene and Lafayette. A monument over 36 feet in height of light Barre granite erected by the Chapter marks the site of Fort Presentation, built in 1749, by Abbe Francois Piquet for the protection of his mission among the Indians; it was occupied by the British in 1760, evacuated by them later.

Washington Heights Chapter, New York City, New York County.—Placed a tablet of bronze on the Morris house located on Washington Heights, also known as the "Headquarters of Washington". This Chapter was organized and has held its meetings in this historic mansion. The Chapter Regent of 1903, appealed to other chapters in the city, who sent representatives to a meeting, where a committee was formed with the Regent as Chairman. The Mayor and Board of Estimate were petitioned to preserve and give said committee custody of this house and grounds. The vote was unanimous in favor of its preservation, but the application for its custody has not yet been granted. It is however earnestly hoped by every Daughter in this Society that it will be granted to the committee.

West Point Chapter, West Point, New York County.—Organized for the purpose of preserving the battle flags at West Point, for which government makes no provision; \$150 was expended last year for this object.

Wiltwyck Chapter, Kingston, Ulster County.—Is doubly honored in bearing upon its membership roll the name of Mrs. James D. Wynkoop, ex-Vice-President General, and that of Miss Mary Isabella Forsyth, ex-Vice-President General, and ex-State Regent.

This Chapter inaugurated an annual celebration of the burning of Kingston; established a public library, and is now raising a fund for the purchase of an old historic house; it has organized a large and enthusiastic society of the Children of the American Revolution.

In presenting the memorial work of the Daughters of New York in their own State it seems fitting that mention should be made of the sum of \$14,154.30 contributed by them to the memorial to be erected by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution to the makers and preservers of this Republic. A great English writer has said that a symbol is an incalculable power. The proposed Memorial Continental Hall will be not only the symbol of our Society, but of our National ideal, the union of many in one noble purpose. State lines are obliterated in undertaking a work like this. As American descendants of patriots whose memory we keep forever green, we New York Daughters deem it a privilege to assist in building this shrine-fitting symbol of the work of our society. In Washington's own city it is to stand among that noble group of buildings which bear outward and visible witness to the power of our parliament, the purity of our justice, the strength of our financial integrity. Memorial Continental Hall will testify to our love and honor for our ancestors.

In this connection it is but just that a tribute should be paid to our present leader, who has been our inspiration and encouragement in this work, our honored and beloved President General, Mrs. Charles W. Fairbanks, who, after serving a term of two years as President General of this society of 40,000 women, was nominated and re-elected by acclamation. During the first period of her administration the site of Memorial Continental Hall building was selected and purchased; during her second year an open preliminary competition for building plans was successfully conducted. These plans were submitted to the twelfth Continental Congress and accepted. During the third year of her administration the final competition was decided, the architect selected, plans perfected, and through her untiring energy and devotion to the work the cornerstone of Memorial Continental Hall was laid with appropriate and imposing ceremonies on April 19, 1904.

during the thirteenth Continental Congress. Now in this, the fourth and last year of her administration, work on the building, the foundation of which is nearly completed, will be so far advanced that on April 19, 1905, the Fourteenth Continental Congress will convene under its roof.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Association has received the following additions to its Library during the past year:

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, from the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, No. 11.

Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, No. 14.

The W. Virginia Historical Magazine, from the W. Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society.

The Founders own Story of the Founding of Vineland, from The Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, together with the Annual Report of the Society.

Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society .

Annual Report of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

Charter, Constitution and By-Laws of the Chicago Historical Society.

Annals of Iowa, from the Historical Department of Iowa.

Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

The Archaeological Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

The following publications from E. F. McPike, of Chicago:

Nine numbers of American Genealogist.

Two numbers of Notes and Queries.

One number of American Monthly Magazine.

One number of Publications of the Southern Historical Association.

Three numbers of The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly.

One number of Putnam's Historical Magazine.

- One number of Yorkshire Notes and Queries.
- Two numbers of Public Libraries.
- Two numbers of Genealogical Bulletin.
- Manuscript Dumont Family Notes.
- Manuscript Genealogical Notes.
- The Vermont Antiquarian is regularly received from the publishers.
- Vol. 8, Kansas Historical Collection from the Kansas Historical Society.
- The Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society.
- Six Vols. Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa, from the State Historical Society of Iowa City.
- Four Vols. in numbers of the Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly from the publishers.
- The Connecticut Magazine from the publishers.
- Catalogue 1904 and 1905 of Tufts College.
- One Vol. New York and the War with Spain, from the Hon. Hugh Hastings.
- New Jersey Archives, 3 vols. from the N. Jersey Historical Society.
- The Essex Institute, 2 numbers.
- Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society of Sweden, 3 numbers.
- Centennial Celebration of the Louisiana Transfer, from the Louisiana Historical Society.
- Official Souvenir Program of the Transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States.
- Message of John G. McCullough, Governor of Vermont.
- Annual Report of the President of Brown University.
- Officers and Members of the Union Club of the City of New York, 1904.
- Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.
- The following volumes have been presented by the Hon. James A. Roberts, during the year past:
 - One hundred and twenty-six vols., War of the Rebellion, records of the Union and Confederate armies, together with 3 vols. of the atlas and plates accompanying the same.
 - Three vols. United States, Japan Expedition by Com. M. C. Perry.

One vol. Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. (Vol. 12).

One vol. Census of the State of New York, 1875.

Fourteen vols. Publications of the New York State Historian.

Two vols. Annual Report, Chamber of Commerce.

One vol. Conference of Charities and Corrections.

One vol. Comptroller's Report, 1901.

Seven vols. Legislative Manual with 4 vols. of the Map accompanying the same.

Five vols. Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Two vols. History of Buffalo.

Four vols. Documentary History, State of New York.

Five vols. Investigation of the Police Department of the State of New York.

Fourteen vols. Annual Report, New York Produce Exchange.

Ten vols. Report of the Industrial Commission.

Eighteen vols. New York Constitutional Convention.

Nineteen vols. Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

Nine vols. Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution.

INSIGNIA OF THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The Insignia of the Association consists of a badge, the pendant of which is circular in form, one and three-sixteenths inches in diameter.

Obverse: In the centre is represented the discovery of the Hudson River; the "Half-Moon" is surrounded by Indian Canoes, and in the distance is shown the Palisades. At the top is the coat-of-arms of New Amsterdam and a tomahawk, arrow and Dutch sword. At the bottom is shown the seal of New York State. Upon a ribbon, surrounding the centre medallion, is the legend: New York State Historical Association, and the dates 1609 and 1899; the former being the date of the discovery of New York and the latter, the date of the founding of the Historical Association.

Reverse: The Seal of the Association.

The badges are made of 14k gold, sterling silver and bronze and will be sold to members of the Association at the following prices:

14k Gold, complete with bar and ribbon,.....	\$11.00
Sterling Silver, complete with bar and ribbon,.....	5.00
Bronze, complete with bar and ribbon,.....	4.00

Applications for badges should be made to the Secretary of the Association, Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward, N. Y., who will issue permit, authorizing the member to make the purchase from the official Jewelers, J. E. Caldwell & Co., 902 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

We, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, and Elmer J. West, of Glens Falls; Grenville M. Ingalsbe, of Sandy Hill, and Morris P. Ferris of Dobbs Ferry, all in the State of New York, and all of us citizens of the United States, have associated ourselves together in a membership corporation, and do hereby make this our certificate under the laws of the State of New York.

The name of such corporation is the "New York State Historical Association."

The principal objects for which said corporation is formed are:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures, and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The territory in which the operations of this corporation are to be principally conducted is Warren, Washington, Essex, Clinton, Saratoga, and Hamilton counties, in the State of New York.

The principal office of said corporation is to be located at Caldwell, on Lake George, county of Warren, in the State of New York.

The number of directors of said corporation, to be known as the Board of Trustees, is twenty-five.

The names and residences of the directors of said corporation, to hold office until the first annual meeting, and who shall be known as the Board of Trustees, are:

James A. Roberts,	Buffalo.
Timothy L. Woodruff,	Brooklyn.
Daniel C. Farr,	Glens Falls.
Everett R. Sawyer	Sandy Hill.
James A. Holden,	Glens Falls.
Robert O. Bascom,	Fort Edward.
Morris Patterson Ferris,	Dobbs Ferry.
Elwyn Seelye,	Lake George.
Grenville M. Ingalsbe,	Sandy Hill.

Frederick B. Richards,	Ticonderoga.
Anson Judd Upson,	Glens Falls.
Asahel R. Wing,	Fort Edward.
William O. Stearns,	Glens Falls.
Robert C. Alexander,	New York.
Elmer J. West,	Glens Falls.
Hugh Hastings,	Albany.
Pliny T. Sexton,	Palmyra.
William S. Ostrander,	Schuylerville.
Sherman Williams,	Glens Falls.
William L. Stone,	Mt. Vernon.
Henry E. Tremain,	New York.
William H. Tippetts,	Lake George.
John Boulton Simpson,	Bolton.
Harry W. Watrous,	Hague.
Abraham B. Valentine,	New York.

The first meeting of the corporation, for the purpose of organization, will be held on the 21st day of March, 1899.

The time for holding the annual meeting of the said corporation will be the last Tuesday in July of each year.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto severally subscribed our names and affixed our seals this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

DANIEL C. FARR,	(L. S.)
JAMES A. HOLDEN,	(L. S.)
ELMER J. WEST,	(L. S.)
GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,	(L. S.)
MORRIS P. FERRIS,	(L. S.)

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Warren } ss.:

On this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, before me personally appeared Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Elmer J. West, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, and Morris Patterson Ferris, to me known to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing articles of incorporation, and they duly severally acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

[SEAL.]

E. T. JOHNSON,
Notary Public.

CHARTER OF NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS, A petition for incorporation by the University has been duly received, containing satisfactory statements made under oath as to the objects and plans of the proposed corporation, and as to the provision made for needed buildings, furniture, equipment, and for maintenance.

THEREFORE, Being satisfied that all requirements prescribed by law or University ordinance for such an association have been fully met, and that public interests justify such action, the Regents by virtue of the authority conferred on them by law, hereby incorporate James A. Roberts, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Morris Patterson Ferris, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Anson Judd Upson, Robert C. Alexander, Hugh Hastings, William S. Ostrander, William L. Stone, William H. Tippetts, Harry W. Watrous, William O. Stearns, Timothy L. Woodruff, Everett R. Sawyer, Robert O. Bascom, Elwyn Seelye, Frederick B. Richards, Asahel R. Wing, Elmer J. West, Pliny T. Sexton, Sherman Williams, Henry E. Tremain, John Boulton Simpson, Abraham B. Valentine, and their successors in office under the corporate name of

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

This corporation shall be located at Caldwell, Warren county, New York.

Its first trustees shall be the twenty-five above-named incorporators.

Its object shall be to promote historical research, to disseminate knowledge of the history of the State by lectures and publications, to establish a library and museum at Caldwell, to mark places of historic interest, and to acquire custody or control of historic places.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The Regents grant this charter, No. 1,245,
under seal of the University, at the Capitol at Albany, April 24,

[SEAL.] 1899.

ANSON JUDD UPSON, *Chancellor.*

MELVIL DEWEY, *Secretary.*

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This Society shall be known as "New York State Historical Association."

ARTICLE II.

Objects.

Its objects shall be:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

ARTICLE III.

Members.

Section 1. Members shall be of three classes — Active, Corresponding, and Honorary. Active members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside the State of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

ARTICLE IV.

Management.

Section 1. The property of the Association shall be vested in, and the affairs of the Association conducted by, a Board of Trustees to be elected

by the Association. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the remaining members of the Board, the appointee to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Association.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall have power to suspend or expel members of the Association for cause, and to restore them to membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given ample opportunity to be heard in his or her own defense.

Section 3. The first Board of Trustees shall consist of those designated in the Articles of Incorporation, who shall meet as soon as may be after the adoption of this Constitution and divide themselves into three classes of, as nearly as may be, eight members each, such classes to serve respectively, one until the first annual meeting, another until the second annual meeting, and the third until the third annual meeting of the Association. At each annual meeting the Association shall elect eight or nine members (as the case may be) to serve as Trustees for the ensuing three years, to fill the places of the class whose term then expires.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall have no power to bind the Association to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the Association except by the consent of the Board of Trustees, expressed in writing and signed by every member thereof.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from its own number, at its first meeting after the annual meeting of the Association and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the Incorporators to act until an election as aforesaid, by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees may appoint such other officers, committees, or agents, and delegate to them such powers as it sees fit, for the prosecution of its work.

Section 3. Vacancies in any office or committee may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VI.

Fees and Dues.

Section 1. Each person on being elected to Active Membership shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum, for his or her annual dues.

Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity, by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and invested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold perpetual memberships shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 6. The Board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the non-payment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for non-payment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

ARTICLE VII.

Meetings.

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Tuesday of July in each year. Notice thereof shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called at any time by the Board of Trustees, and must be called upon the written request of ten members. The notice of such meeting shall specify the object thereof, and no business shall be transacted thereat excepting that designated in the notice.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Association.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall arrange for the holding of a series of meetings at Lake George during the summer months, for the reading of original papers on history and kindred subjects, and for social intercourse between the members and their guests.

ARTICLE VIII.

Seal.

The seal of the Association shall be a group of statuary representing the Mohawk Chief, King Hendrick, in the act of proving to Gen. Wm. Johnson the unwisdom of dividing his forces on the eve of the battle of Lake George. Around this a circular band bearing the legend, New York State Historical Association, 1899.

ARTICLE IX.**Amendments.**

Amendments to the Constitution may be made at any annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Notice of a proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least thirty days before the day upon which action is taken thereon.

The adoption of an amendment shall require the favorable vote of two-thirds of those present at a duly-constituted meeting of the Association.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

Members.

Candidates for membership in the Association shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Board of Trustees. Three adverse votes shall defeat an election.

ARTICLE II.

Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The Board of Trustees may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, and which shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect one of their own number to preside at the meetings of the Board in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall at each annual meeting of the Association render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall hold at least four meetings in each year. At each of such meetings it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership.

Section 5. The Board of Managers shall each year appoint committees to take charge of the annual gathering of the Association at Lake George.

ARTICLE III.

President.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Association or the Board of Trustees. He shall be ex-officio a member of all committees.

ARTICLE VI.

Vice-Presidents.

The Vice-Presidents shall be denominated First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents. In the absence of the President his duties shall devolve upon the senior Vice-President present.

ARTICLE V.**Treasurer.**

Section 1. The Treasurer shall have charge of all the funds of the Association. He shall keep accurate books of account, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Trustees. He shall present a full and comprehensive statement of the Association's financial condition, its receipts and expenditures, at each annual meeting and shall present a brief statement to the Board of Trustees at each meeting. He shall pay out money only on the approval of the majority of the Executive Committee, or on the resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Before assuming the duties of his office, the Treasurer-elect shall with a surety to be approved by the Board execute to the Association his bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as Treasurer.

Section 3. The President shall, thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Association, appoint two members of the Association who shall examine the books and vouchers of the Treasurer and audit his accounts, and present their report to the Association at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.**Secretary.**

The Secretary shall preserve accurate minutes of the transactions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall notify the members of meetings, and perform such other duties as he may be directed to perform by the Association or by the Board of Trustees. He may delegate any portion of his duties to the Assistant Secretary.

ARTICLE VII.**Executive Committee.**

The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee. Such Committee shall direct the business of the Association between meetings of the Board of Trustees, but shall have no power to establish or declare a policy for the Association, or to bind it in any way except in relation to routine work. The Committee shall have no power to direct a greater expenditure than fifty dollars without the authority of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VIII.**Procedure.**

Section 1. The following, except when otherwise ordered by the Association, shall be the order of business at the annual meetings of the Association.

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual, and of any special meeting, and acting thereon.

Reports of Officers and Board of Trustees.

Reports of Standing Committees.

Reports of Special Committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, where not provided for in this Constitution and By-Laws, shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order.

Section 3. The previous question shall not be put to vote at any meeting unless seconded by at least three members.

Section 4. All elections shall be by ballot, except where only one candidate is nominated for an office.

Section 5. All notices shall be sent personally or by mail to the address designated in writing by the member to the Secretary.

ARTICLE IX.

Nominating Committee.

A committee of three shall be chosen by the Association at its annual meeting, to nominate Trustees to be voted for at the next annual meeting. Such Committee shall file its report with the Secretary of this Association at least thirty days prior to the next annual meeting. The Secretary shall mail a copy of such report to every member of the Association with the notice of the annual meeting at which the report is to be acted upon. The action of such Committee shall, however, in no wise interfere with the power of the Association to make its own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the Secretary at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting. A copy thereof shall be sent to each member by the Secretary with the notice of meeting, and shall be headed "Independent Nominations." If the Nominating Committee fails for any reason to make its report so that it may be sent out with the notice of the annual meeting, the Society may make its own nominations at such annual meeting.

ARTICLE X.

Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended at any duly-constituted meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Notice of the proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least twenty days before the day upon which action thereon is taken. ✓

MEMBERS NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

HONORARY MEMBER.

*Dr. Edward Eggleston, Joshua's Rock, N. Y.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Berthold Fernow, Trenton, N. J.

LIFE MEMBERS.

W. K. Bixby,	Bolton, N. Y.
Mrs. Marcellus Hartley,	232 Madison Ave., N. Y. City.
Mrs. Oliver Livingston Jones,	116 W. 72d St., N. Y. City.
Mrs. Horace See,	50 W. 9th St., N. Y. City.
Gen. Henry E. Tremain,	105 E. 18th St., N. Y. City.
Dr. W. Seward Webb,	51 E. 44th St., N. Y. City.
*Samuel P. Avery,	4 E. 38th St., N. Y. City.

MEMBERS.

*Alexander, Robert C.	New York.
Allen, Frank S.	116 W. 45th St., N. Y. City.
Allen, Hiram	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Arthur, Miss L. Louise	Woodside, L. I.
Ames, Edgar W.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Austin, Franklin D.	Copenhagen, N. Y.
Barber, Junius E.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Bascom, Robert O.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Bassinger, George H.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Ballard, W. J.	Jamaica, N. Y.
Bushnell, Nathan Platt	Peekskill, N. Y.
Bloodgood, Clarence E.	Catskill, N. Y.

*Deceased.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Brown, Ernest C. | 280 Broadway, N. Y. City. |
| Baker, Frederick I. | Fort Ann, N. Y. |
| Batcheller, George Clinton | 237 W. 72d St., N. Y. City. |
| Benedict, George Grenville | Burlington, Vt. |
| Bishop, Charles F. | 67 Wall St., N. Y. City. |
| Blake, Rev. Chas. W. | Lake George, N. Y. |
| *Bloodgood, Dr. Delevan | 320 Clermont Ave., Brooklyn,
N. Y. |
| Brackett, Hon. E. T. | Saratoga Springs, N. Y. |
| Brandow, Rev. John H. | Schuylerville, N. Y. |
| Bullard, Dr. T. E. | Schuylerville, N. Y. |
| Burdge, Franklin | 325 W. 57th St., N. Y. City. |
| Burleigh, Brackett W. | Whitehall, N. Y. |
| *Burleigh, H. G. | Whitehall, N. Y. |
| Burnham, George | 3401 Powelton Ave., Phila-
delphia, Pa. |
| Cady, J. Rider | Hudson, N. Y. |
| Carter, Robert C. | Glens Falls, N. Y. |
| Chapman, W. J. | Glens Falls, N. Y. |
| Cheney, Dr. Francis L. | Cortland, N. Y. |
| Cole, Norman | Glens Falls, N. Y. |
| Conway, John B. | Argyle, N. Y. |
| Cook, Dr. Joseph Tottenham | 636 Delaware Ave., Buffalo,
N. Y. |
| Cooley, James S., M. D. | Glen Cove, N. Y. |
| Coolidge, Thomas S. | Glens Falls, N. Y. |
| Cornell, S. Douglas | Cobourg, Ont. |
| Cox, A. S. | Glens Falls, N. Y. |
| Cullinan, Hon. Patrick W. | Albany, N. Y. |
| Cunningham, Col. J. L. | Glens Falls, N. Y. |
| Day, Benjamin | Hague, N. Y. |
| DeLong, C. J. | Glens Falls, N. Y. |
| Digney, John M. | White Plains, N. Y. |
| Demuth, William | 507 Broadway, N. Y. City. |
| Denham, Edward | New Bedford, Mass. |
| Denton, Mrs. Elizabeth B. | Sandy Hill, N. Y. |
| Derby, Hon. John H. | Sandy Hill, N. Y. |
| Doane, Rt. Rev. C. W. | Albany, N. Y. |
| Doolittle, C. M. | Schuylerville, N. Y. |
| Durkee, James H. | Sandy Hill, N. Y. |
| Dwyer, John | Sandy Hill, N. Y. |
| Elting, Philip | 278 Wall St., Kingston, N. Y. |

*Deceased.

*Farr, Dr. Daniel C.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Ferree, Barr	7 Warren St., N. Y. City.
Ferris, Morris Patterson	676 West End Ave., N. Y. City.
*Ferriss, George M.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Fitch, Charles E.	Department Public Instruc- tion, Albany, N. Y.
Fowler, Albert N. C.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Gillespie, Nelson	Hoosick Falls, N. Y.
Gilman, Hon. Theodore P.	425 West End Ave., N. Y. City.
Griffith, Prof. E. W.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Hall, Fred J.	Tarrytown, N. Y.
Halsey, Francis W.	146 W. 119th St., N. Y. City.
Hastings, Hon. Hugh	Albany, N. Y.
Hatch, Rev. W. H. P.	Hartford, N. Y.
Hayden, Henry W.	120 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Heilner, Samuel	Broad and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
Hewitt, Fred W.	Granville, N. Y.
Higgins, Hon. Frank W.	Olean, N. Y.
Hitchcock, Hon. Chas. H.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Hobbie, Hon. William R.	Greenwich, N. Y.
Holden, James A.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Holden, Mrs. J. A.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Howard, Hon. Harry A.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
*Howland, L. M.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
*Hoyt, Charles A.	New York City.
*Hutchins, Mrs. Waldo	Kings Bridge, N. Y.
Hull, Frank S.	Newburgh, N. Y.
Ingalls, George A.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Ingalsbe, Hon. Grenville M.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Ingalsbe, Miss Myra L.	Hartford, N. Y.
Ingraham, Dr. Charles A.	Center Cambridge, N. Y.
Jordan, Warren S.	984 Main St., Peekskill, N. Y.
Keating, James D.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Kellogg, Rev. Dr. Charles D.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Kellogg, J. Augustus	Glens Falls, N. Y.
King, Charles F.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
King, Rev. Dr. Joseph E.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Kline, William W.	725 N. 5th St., Reading, Pa.
Knapp, George O.	Lake George, N. Y.
Kneil, T. R.	Saratoga, N. Y.

*Deceased.

Langdon, Andrew	Buffalo, N. Y.
*Lansing, Abraham	Albany, N. Y.
Lansing, Mrs. Abraham	115 Washington Avenue, Albany, N. Y.
Lapham, Byron	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Law, Robert R.	Cambridge, N. Y.
Lester, C. C.	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Little, Dr. George W.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Little, Russell A.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
*Lupien, Frederick G.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Lyttle, Dr. E. W.	Albany, N. Y.
Maney, J. A.	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Mann, William D.	Hague, N. Y.
Marsh, Wallace T.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Martine, Dr. G. R.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
*Marvin, Hon. J. M.	Saratoga, N. Y.
Mather, Irwin F.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Matthews, George E.	Buffalo, N. Y.
McAneny, George	19 E. 47th St., N. Y. City.
McArthur, Hon. Thomas W.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
McCarthy, James	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
McLean, Mrs. Donald	186 Lenox Ave., N. Y. City.
Melick, Dr. W. B.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Meredith, Miss Louise Harden-	
burgh	San Luis Obispo, Cal.
Messer, L. Franklin	403 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Michael, Edward	741 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Mills, Col. Stephen C., U. S. A.	Omaha, Neb.
Moore, Commodore John W.	Bolton Landing, N. Y.
*Morgan, Hon. William J.	Albany, N. Y.
Mott, Dr. O. H.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Noyes, H. C.	Lake George, N. Y.
O'Brien, Hon. John F.	Plattsburgh, N. Y.
Parry, Mrs. J. E.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Payne, Silas H.	Silver Bay, N. Y.
Peck, Reuben N.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Pell, Howland	7 Pine St., N. Y. City.
Potter, Delcour S.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Pryor, Charles	New Rochelle, N. Y.
*Putnam, Hon. John R.	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

*Deceased.

Ransom, Frank H.	137 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Ransom, Hon. Rastus S.	128 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Raymond, Rev. Dr. A. V. V.	Schenectady, N. Y.
Reid, W. Max	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Reid, Hon. Whitelaw	New York City.
Richards, Frederick B.	Ticonderoga, N. Y.
Richardson, Rev. G. L.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
*Richmond, A. G.	Canajoharie, N. Y.
Roberts, Hon. James A.	1115 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Roberts, Mrs. James A.	1115 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Roberts, Joseph Banks	141 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Sanford, Clarence T.	Lake George, N. Y.
Sawyer, Rev. Dr. Everett R.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Sawyer, W. L.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Schuyler, Miss Fanny	New Rochelle, N. Y.
Seelye, Elwyn	Caldwell, N. Y.
Sexton, Hon. Pliny T.	Palmyra, N. Y.
Sexton, Mrs. Pliny T.	Palmyra, N. Y.
Shepherd, Edward M.	Caldwell, N. Y.
Sherman, Mrs. Roger M.	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Sidway, Mrs. Frank St. John	37 Oakland Pl., Buffalo, N. Y.
Simpson, John Boulton	1170 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Smith, T. Guilford	Buffalo, N. Y.
*Spier, William E.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Stearns, Rev. W. O.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Stevens, Benjamin F.	Boston, Mass.
Stevens, Rev. Dr. C. Ellis	111 Montague St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Stieglitz, Edward	Bolton, N. Y.
Stillman, Dr. William Olin	287 State St., Albany, N. Y.
Stoddard, S. R.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
*Stone, Charles	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
*Stone, Mrs. Charles	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Stone, Col. William L.	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
*Stryker, Gen. Wm. S.	Trenton, N. J.
Thayer, Hon. Stephen H.	Yonkers, N. Y.
Temple, Truman R.	Granville, N. Y.
Tippetts, Col. W. H.	Caldwell, N. Y.

*Deceased.

*Valentine, Abraham Bates	New York City.
Vann, Hon. Irving G.	Syracuse, N. Y.
Van Wormer, Rodney	Argyle, N. Y.
Vynne, Mrs. Emma M.	Hague, N. Y.
Wait, William	Kinderhook, N. Y.
Wakeman, Abram	136 Front St., N. Y. City.
Wallander, A. W.	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Warren, E. Burgess	Lake George, N. Y.
Warren, H. P.	Albany, N. Y.
Watrous, Harry W.	Hague, N. Y.
Watrous, Mrs. Harry W.	Hague, N. Y.
Webster, Dr. W. B.	Schuylerville, N. Y.
Weeks, William R.	11 Broadway, N. Y. City.
West, Chandler A.	Caldwell, N. Y.
West, Elmer J.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Wheelock, Charles H.	Albany, N. Y.
Wicker, Miss Julia Frances	Ticonderoga, N. Y.
Williams, Charles H.	690 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Williams, Dr. Sherman	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Wilson, Henry Applegate	574 Madison St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Wing, Asahel R.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Woodruff, Hon. Timothy L.	8th Ave. and 18th St., Brook- lyn, N. Y.
Wright, Miss Abbie A.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.

*Deceased.

The Secretary will thank the members for corrections in this list.

